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**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

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## *CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.*


THE WEEK ..... 239

EDITORIAL ARTICLES:

The United States and Germany in China .. 242
A Contrast ..... 242
Lessons of the Census ..... 243
The Trade-Union Congress in England ..... 244
The Late Mr. Henry Sidgwick ..... 244
Civil-Service Reform ..... 246

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

The Breach Between Russia and China .... 247
Yellowstone Park as a Summer Resort .... 248

CORRESPONDENCE:

The Third-Party Movement Too Late ..... 250
The Bryan Convention as a Sign of the Times 250
An Unhistorical Society ..... 250
The Muskallonge ..... 251
Gray's Ladder of Ropes ..... 251
Data ..... 251

NOTES ..... 251

BOOK REVIEWS:

Gower ..... 254
A History of the Spanish-American War of 1898 ..... 256
Matthew Lyon ..... 256
Acetylene ..... 257
The Story of John Adams ..... 257
Economics and Industrial History for Secondary Schools ..... 258
London Souvenirs ..... 258

BOOKS OF THE WEEK ..... 258



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# The Nation.

*NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1900.*

## The Week.

Doubtless one of the reasons why President McKinley declines Germany's proposal in regard to the surrender of Chinese officials is, that such a demand would probably make it necessary to call an extra session of Congress. If China should flatly refuse to surrender everybody whom the allies deemed guilty of the outrages at Pekin or elsewhere, it would be necessary for the Powers to declare war against her, or "scuttle." Of course there can be no scuttle policy, but we cannot declare war except by the action of Congress. There will be no regular session of that body for ten weeks to come. Our intentions in the premises could not remain undecided so long a time. An extra session would be necessary. To call an extra session would at once precipitate the question of peace or war into the present campaign. On this question the Administration would be compelled to be in favor of war because the alternative would be scuttling. This would be a risk which no prudent Administration would care to incur. Fortunately, the material interests of the nation here coincide with the political interests of the party in power.

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The announcement that the Governor of Amur has placed all the Mantchurian country now occupied by the Russians under Russian law and authority, is still too indefinite to base an opinion upon. All that can be said is that it involves some extension of Russian rule in the north of China, and that it is (or is proclaimed to be) a punishment for the attack by the Chinese on Blagovestchensk. The latter is a town on the left (Russian) bank of the Amur River. It was attacked by the Chinese military forces at the time when the Boxer uprising was going on in Pekin. This attack and the firing on Russian craft navigating the river created a panic among the Cossack population on the Amur, and led to the scenes described by Professor Wright in our columns this week. Only a very small part of Mantchuria can have been occupied by the Russians since the recent troubles began. The country itself is 800 miles in length (north and south) and 500 miles in width, and embraces 390,000 square miles, including the Liao-Tung peninsula. It is as large as New York and Pennsylvania, plus all the States west of them to and including Iowa and Minnesota.

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What are the motives which have actuated the Boxers in China? Some light is cast upon the matter by an interview which the Tientsin correspondent of the St. Louis *Globe Democrat* recently had with Wong Ta, whom he describes as a typical Boxer. To the question why poor people like him were fighting the foreigners, Wong Ta frankly replied: "Partly because we hate you"; and to the further inquiry why they hated the foreigners, "Partly because the foreign devils have stolen so much of our country." But this is only one of the reasons. Others are that the foreign devils have come and laid iron rails across the country, and that "the iron dragon has walked over our people and crushed them." Moreover, the invaders have even moved graves to lay these rails down, and the ancestors, angry at this desecration, are revenging themselves upon their descendants. Proof of this is found in the fact that there are floods in one part of the empire and drought in another, with famines almost every year. There are other charges, as that "the foreign devils have been killing our children and using their eyes for medicine"—a belief which is widely held by the lower classes in China. Worst of all, the iron dragons, spitting out smoke and fire and making a great rumbling as they go along, pulling strange houses after them, "have been destroying Feng-shi"—that mysterious balance between wind and water which constitutes luck, and the disturbance of which means to a Chinaman something infinitely worse than the mere "end of the world." In this queer jumble of real and imaginary grievances, of justifiable resentment against harsh treatment, and of blind rage against all progress which runs counter to popular superstition, one gets some insight into the curious state of the Chinese mind, and sees more clearly the immense difficulties of securing a basis for a settlement with modern civilization.

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By no means all the army officers in the Philippines share the views of the Taft Commission as to the prompt ending of the "insurrection." Many are, of course, prevented by their official positions from publicly giving utterance to the opinions which they have no hesitation in expressing privately. Occasionally, however, one is found who ventures to speak out. The latest is Capt. David F. Allen of the Thirty-eighth Volunteer Infantry, whose standing among his fellow-citizens in Indiana is such that he has been named as the Democratic candidate for Congress from the Ninth District. After declining to come home to take part in the campaign, because he deems it his duty to remain with his company in Luzon, he has this to say in his letter of acceptance:

> "I desire to mention some facts to correct any statement that may have been made in the district, to the effect that the island of Luzon is pacified, or that the backbone of the war is broken. The President's amnesty proclamation was published throughout the municipality of Balayan. It was read at high mass by the priest at least a month ago, thus giving it the widest possible circulation throughout the city, and yet, out of a population of fully 50,000, not one person has thus far taken advantage of it. The military authorities, by general orders published throughout the island, offered to pay 30 pesos (thirty Spanish silver dollars) for any kind of an old gun that could be fired. This order was published months ago, and yet in all the province of Batangas, composed of more than 200,000 people, not one rifle or gun has been offered for sale. The war is not over. The people have not become reconciled. These are the exact facts."

Capt. Allen also does not fail to mention that increased activity of the Filipinos in the field which is the burden of almost every report now received from Manila.

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There is no more striking feature of Gen. MacArthur's report on the fresh outbreaks in the Philippines than the fact that the only troops which he could send to Gen. Young's relief were those which had just arrived from the United States, and that more reinforcements could not be furnished until they had reached Manila from San Francisco. If Mr. McKinley's luck seemed to have deserted him when this grave news came on the heels of the Taft campaign report, it must not be overlooked that the fortunate and unexpectedly sudden ending of active hostilities in China alone made possible the diversion of these fresh troops to the Philippines. Had Gen. Chaffee required all the men in China who were originally destined for duty there, Gen. MacArthur would have been unable to come to Gen. Young's aid without abandoning some of the towns and villages which are now "loyal" solely because of the presence of American troops. As it is, the calls for reinforcements are reported to be coming not only from Young, but from every other brigadier, and the response depends upon the number of troops now en route to Manila from San Francisco and the time of their arrival. With every one of Gen. MacArthur's 63,000 troops urgently needed, and insistent calls for more, with every available regular in the United States under orders to the Philippines, how can the 25,000 volunteers be withdrawn who must be mustered out, according to law, on July 1, 1901? Nothing but the promptest action on the part of Congress will supply a way out—the raising of fresh troops, regular and volunteer—and it will take months to do this, and to land the reinforcements in Manila.

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The American rulers of Cuba are "deeply pained" to discover that the great majority of the delegates elected to the Constitutional Convention are "anti-American." Just think of that! Here are electors deliberately choosing representatives who will put the interests of their own country above those of a foreign nation! This is almost as bad as the obstinate wickedness of the Chinese in refusing to appoint negotiators who are "pro-foreign." With us, and with all civilized peoples, we know how great is the eagerness to elect officials who are for the foreigner first, and let the devil take the native citizens. Whenever we wish to negotiate a treaty, we take pains to send commissioners who are pledged in advance to surrender the American contention. No candidate gets so many votes in this country as the man who announces himself "pro-foreign." The nominee running on an anti-British, or anti-all-abroad, platform would be "snowed under." Yet these elementary principles of civilized politics the Cubans have not learned. And still there are some theorists who say they are fit to govern themselves!

Mr. Bryan's topsy-turvy notions about finance were never more unconsciously displayed than in his remarks about the German loan placed in this country. Do you love the Germans more than you do your own countrymen? he asks triumphantly. Lending money for love is a new doctrine. It is especially new for Mr. Bryan, who has been in the habit of making out the creditor a very unlovely character, luring the luckless debtor on to borrow, and then remorselessly exacting his pound of flesh. But it seems the Shylocks loved the Antonios just the same! However, Mr. Bryan has another crushing retort. If you are so glad to loan money abroad at 4 per cent., that shows that profitable investments at home are few. Where, then, is your boasted prosperity? But where, we ask, is *your* boasted adversity? If money for long-time investment goes begging at 4 per cent., the Western farmer will not have to pay more than 6 or 7 on his mortgages (instead of 10 or 12, some years ago); the business man can borrow at the bank on commercial paper for 5; new manufacturing industries can be launched on more favorable terms than ever before; rents will be lower; capital will be in search of the thrifty user of it. It is, indeed, a gratuitous perversity in an agitator thus to seize upon one of the surest signs of national wealth and well-being and try to wrest it to his own ends.

Platt and Croker are now taking up again the rôle of the comic actors of the vaudeville stage, who abuse each other like fish-wives in the sight of the victim whose pockets they have picked, and then go off into a corner to divide the plunder. The community may be amused by this, but it can scarcely be deceived. Platt may cry "blackmailer," and Croker retort "thief and liar," to his heart's content, but it is all a wearisome and hollow farce. The two bosses are exactly alike in principles and practice. Both are political gamblers, and nothing else. Moreover, they have a perfect understanding with each other. Never has their partnership for mutual advantage been more openly and brazenly displayed before the people of this State than at the present time. Yet they have such a belief in the infinite gullibility of the people that they get up these periodical little theatrical quarrels of theirs. Platt comes down to the footlights and, making serious efforts to look ferocious, bawls out that his fellow-comedian gets his money from saloons and brothels. "You old liar," yells Croker in a fine stage fury, "you know that you blackmail every corporation in New York." The audience roars, and the flattered actors bring out fresh blackguardism. If necessary, they will fall to pummelling each other before election day. But the day after they will be found in the wings, in perfect good-fellowship and shaking with laughter, where they will make an honorable division of their common booty.

Mr. Odell's letter to the President of the Merchants' Association on the Ramapo question is of the first importance. He now not only reiterates the pledge made in his recent speech, that he will give his cordial and active support to "any remedial legislation" which may be necessary to enable New York city to own and control its water supply, but explicity defines the expression remedial legislation as possessing its "fullest and utmost meaning, and that is that the rights of the city are paramount to all other individual or corporate rights not municipal." He further elucidates his position as meaning that, "if any action heretofore taken by the Legislature shall be a bar to the granting of such rights, that, of course, must first be swept away," and expressly states that "this would apply to the repeal of the Ramapo or any other grant that might be a hindrance to the consummation of this much-desired result." This seems to cover the whole ground, so far as the Republican candidate for Governor is concerned. The next thing to do is to make sure that a Legislature shall be chosen which will pass the law which Mr. Odell is now pledged to sign in case of his election.

Even the Goebel law of Kentucky is outdone in unfairness by the statute under which elections are now held in the city of St. Louis. When the Democrats, who have controlled the State for thirty years, decided to seize the metropolis, which has been Republican for some time past, they not only took the Police Department away from the citizens and gave it to a board appointed by the Governor, but they also turned over the elections to another commission constituted in the same way. Nominally, the Republicans are represented through a provision that only two of the three commissioners shall belong to the same party, but practically the third member is helpless. The law authorizes the Board—which means its Democratic majority—to turn over the control of the whole election machinery to a deputy, who may add names to the registry lists or strike them off, appoint all officers to take charge of the polls—in short, do just about as he pleases—and without any remedy in the way of appeal, except to the Board, whose creature and agent the deputy is. Naturally enough, there is great indignation in St. Louis, outside the ranks of the professional politicians of the party responsible for this gross outrage.

Gen. John M. Palmer, whose death occurred on Tuesday, was in public life nearly fifty years ago, and notable even then. He was a member of the State Senate of Illinois in 1854, when Douglas's Nebraska bill was pending in Congress. He was a Democrat and he represented Macoupin County, which was a part of "Egypt," as southern Illinois was then styled, and he was himself a native of Kentucky. If it could have been affirmed of any member of the Illinois Legislature then that he would be found among the supporters of Douglas, and in favor of admitting slavery to the new Territories, John M. Palmer would have been put in that category. Yet he was one of the five members (anti-Nebraska Democrats, as they were called) who bolted the caucus nomination of their party, and voted for Lyman Trumbull for Senator and elected him. Abraham Lincoln was also a candidate at that time, but he was the nominee of the Whigs. The Republican party did not then exist. Lincoln might have been elected then if the five anti-Nebraska men had given him their votes, but their position at home hardly allowed them to vote for a Whig. It turned out quite as well in the end that Trumbull was elected, for while Lincoln was not obscured, Trumbull was put in a position where his powers as a political debater added greatly to the strength of the Free-Soil party. Gen. Palmer's devotion to the cause of freedom was soon put to a new test. He entered the Union army, raised a regiment in Macoupin County, became a Major-General of Volunteers, and fought through the four years' war with Logan, Oglesby, McClernand, and many other Illinoisans who won national fame. He was elected Governor of the State, and Senator of the United States afterwards. In every place and at every time he showed the same sterling qualities that

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marked him when he turned his back on his party in behalf of freedom at the risk of his political future. His last service was his acceptance of the nomination of the Gold Democrats for the Presidency against Bryan four years ago.

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Labor troubles for a large body of workingmen and their employers are averted by the news that the Conference Committee of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and of manufacturers have finally agreed upon their yearly wage scale. The adjustment of wages this year has been attended with unusual difficulties, owing to the unsettled condition of the iron and steel trade. The scale adopted is a compromise, fixing wages considerably above what the manufacturers had proposed, and below what the workers wanted. It will remain in effect and binding upon employers and employees until July, 1901. The conference has had five sittings in different cities, and has finally determined the wages to be paid 60,000 workingmen for one year. In doing so it has made the occurrence of a strike or a lock-out altogether improbable during this period. This method of determining wages has been successfully employed in other industries, and there would seem to be no reason why some such scheme should not be agreed upon between the anthracite-coal operators and the striking miners. Operators and miners in the bituminous fields have had such an agreement for several years, and it has worked satisfactorily.

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Chief Stainsby of the New Jersey Bureau of Statistics has undertaken an investigation of the trades-union movement in his State, with reference to the annual disbursements of the unions for strikes and benevolent purposes. As might have been expected, the returns, where they are at all ample, show that strikes have been declared in the course of the year pretty generally among the unions. Forty-seven unions, with a membership of 6,753, and a total income during 1899 of $46,369.49, report an expenditure averaging 27.1 per cent. of their income for strikes, and 18.4 per cent. for benefits, while 54.5 per cent. has been added to their reserves. Eleven unions of glass-workers included in the forty-seven report a strike expenditure during 1899 amounting to 44.7 per cent. of their total income, and nothing paid out in benefits. Eight unions of cigar-makers, however, report no strikes, and about one-third of the year's income devoted to the payment of benefits. From the figures given it appears that about 60 per cent. of last year's expenditures by all the unions were incurred in the maintenance of strikes. The building up of reserve funds which is indicated is calculated to exert a conservative influence over labor-unions, and it is to be hoped that these reserves may be more carefully preserved in the future than in the past against the serious drain occasioned by too frequent striking. Undoubtedly the unions in New Jersey and elsewhere are devoting more of their resources to the benevolent work of protecting themselves and their families against want. Their large expenditures for strikes, however, are evidence that they still too generally regard striking to be the chief end of their existence, and that in benevolence they are far behind the English unions, which estimate their strike expenditure at only about 10 per cent. of their total disbursements.

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A nice point at law has been ruled upon by the Court of Common Pleas in Pennsylvania. A trade organization to "foster, protect, and promote the welfare of persons engaging in sheet-metal working, and for the protection and encouragement of such trade and commerce," applied to the court for incorporation. The law authorizes the court to grant charters to corporations formed for the encouragement and protection of trade and commerce in general, but Judge McCarthy rules that encouragement and protection of commerce in general is a very different thing from encouragement and protection of persons engaged in particular trades. It is plain, he says, that the law contemplates the promotion of the general public welfare which would flow from fostering the exchange of commodities in foreign or domestic trade, and not from the encouragement of the business of any particular class of persons who may happen to be engaged in a particular handicraft for their own private livelihood or profit. The court may grant charters to organizations for the encouragement of commerce in general, but not to organizations whose object is to protect the trade of a particular class.

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English trade-unionists and labor men generally are up in arms over a recent decision of Mr. Justice Farwell of the High Court, restraining the officers of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants from "watching and besetting" non-union men employed upon the Taff Vale Railway during a strike ordered by the Society. The judgment has no immediate effect, as this strike has been ended. The Society urged that it was not properly a corporation, and, therefore, could not be held responsible for the action of its members. Justice Farwell, however, rules that the Society is liable for the acts of its agents to the same extent that it would be if it were a corporation, and it is abundantly clear, he believes, that a corporation under the circumstances of this case would be liable. Trade-unionists in England, as in this country, are somewhat suspicious of the action of the courts in such matters, and feel that they are granting injunctions too freely in cases like this. The statutes under which English trade unions are organized deliberately withhold from the unions the right of incorporation, and this restriction of rights, the trade-unionists contend, implies a restriction of liabilities also. The problem is a perplexing one.

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Mr. Chamberlain's election address, issued on Thursday, as was also Mr. Balfour's, adds new point to Shelley's old taunt that "war is the statesman's game." Evidently the Conservatives are going to make the South African war their trump card. Having given the war to them, Mr. Chamberlain calls upon the electors to say whether it was "just" and "inevitable." This scarcely comes up to our "holy" war with Spain, but that pitch of exaltation may be reached later. Moreover, Mr. Chamberlain is as anxious as ever Mr. McKinley was that the "fruits" of his war be not thrown away. As he recently expressed it in a letter to a constituent, the question was whether the country would intrust the settlement of affairs in South Africa to " a strong hand." The obvious reply to this is that the strong hand has a grasp upon the business already. Who has a "mailed fist" more threatening than Mr. Chamberlain's? And how much larger a majority does he want behind him in Parliament than he has now? Dissolution was not necessary until next year. By that time the strong hand could have settled everything. The political trickery of the appeal is evident.

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Lord Salisbury won the general election of 1895 almost purely on domestic issues. His victory was to make an end of pestilent Irish Home Rule, and to open a magnificent prospect for social reforms, old-age pensions, and what not. There was to be contentment and progress at home, and an unbroken peace, born of calm strength, abroad. But cynic fate has a way of making a mock of election promises, and the Conservatives have scarcely a thing to point to in the way of domestic legislation, while their period of power has been one long record of foreign complications, anxieties, wars, and new responsibilities of all kinds. First came the Armenian atrocities, in regard to which Lord Salisbury suffered a distinct check and lowering of prestige. Then there was the Venezuelan tragi-comedy; the Jameson Raid, the Greek war, the Sudan campaign, Fashoda, the Russian advance in Manchuria, the South African war, and now the acute crisis in China. It is an appalling list to have been crowded into five short years. There is, however, one domestic achievement which we had forgotten to mention. The income tax has gone up fourpence in the pound.

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### *THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY IN CHINA.*

The proposal of Germany that the Chinese Government be required to surrender the persons whom the Powers consider guilty of the recent outrages at Pekin, as a preliminary to negotiations for peace, is open to several weighty objections. The first is that no such demand could be granted or even considered by any self-respecting Government. Each one of the Powers concerned would consider such a demand, if addressed to itself, a *casus belli*, and would order out its troops without further parley. It may be said that China is not a self-respecting Government, and that the rules which apply to the Powers do not apply to her. This, however, is a question upon which the Powers cannot say the last word. No country is more tenacious about the forms of diplomacy than China, and no other country can prescribe for her the terms preliminary to negotiations.

Undoubtedly the Powers could inflict great harm upon her if she should refuse to comply with such a demand. They could declare war against her, and this they would be obliged to do in that event. So the German proposal is virtually an invitation to all the others to join her in waging war against China. Her Ambassador was killed in Pekin, and, therefore, she has a cause of complaint not common to the others. On the other hand, it is a common opinion that she stirred up the bad blood in China which made the outrages against foreigners possible. There is reason to believe that the killing of Baron von Ketteler was an act of lawless revenge for the lawless seizure of Kiao-Chau Bay. At all events, the Powers do not all stand on the same footing. The others have not the reasons for declaring war that Germany has.

The second objection to Germany's proposal is, that it opens the door to a dispute among the Powers on the identification of the authors of the outrages. Differences of opinion will be sure to arise on the question whether the Empress Dowager is responsible for the killing of the German Ambassador and for the outrages generally. What kind of evidence is to be considered valid on that head? It might be possible to identify the person who did the shooting. It might be proved that he knew the Ambassador by sight, and that he fired with the intention of killing him. But to prove that the orders for the killing came from the head of the Government would be another matter altogether. To determine this point, the Powers would have to organize themselves into a court and take testimony, and all kinds of intrigues would be possible while the trial was going on. Opportunities for disputes and bad temper arising from unwillingness to find this or that Chinese official guilty would abound, and meanwhile the Chinese empire itself would be in a state of unrest, awaiting the decision. The situation would be one of the greatest delicacy—one which ought by all means to be avoided.

Assuming that the Chinese Government would refuse such a preliminary condition, and that war would follow, the conclusion of it would almost certainly be a partition of China, or at all events of the Chinese coast line, among the Powers. That this would not be unwelcome to Germany we may infer from the steps she took at Kiao-Chau Bay, and the reasons she assigned for it. She said, through the mouth of her Minister of Foreign Affairs, that while she did not desire a partition of China, she was determined, if it should come, to have a strategical position which would enable her to exercise a decisive influence. Looking at all that has gone before, it is hardly to be doubted that Germany put forward her proposal for the preliminary surrender of the guilty Chinese officials in order to hasten the event which she contemplated when she seized Kiao-Chau Bay. The United States has no interests looking that way. Our policy is that of the open door, not half a dozen doors that may be opened or shut according to the will of half a dozen Powers. For these reasons the answer of our Government, courteously declining the German proposal, should be, and we think will be, sustained by all parties at home.

The chorus of disapproval of our answer which comes from Europe (except Russia) ought to strengthen our purpose, and cause us to adhere to it more firmly than ever. It is said by our foreign critics, including Englishmen, that we are detaching ourselves from the concert of the Powers, thus weakening it, and, as one Berlin newspaper remarks, "increasing Chinese presumption and insolence." Detaching ourselves from the concert of the Powers, after accomplishing the rescue of the legations, is simply reverting to the policy of George Washington to avoid entangling alliances with the Powers of the Old World. Although we have done some despite to the early and safe traditions which proved so salutary in the first century of our existence, every opportunity to revert to them ought to be embraced. In the present instance we are invited to join in a demand which cannot be sustained in the forum of public law, a demand which points to war with China and possible complications with other Powers. No fairer occasion than this could be conceived for paying homage to the teachings of the fathers of the republic by retiring as speedily as possible from China, and in general minding our own business. We have made a great deal of money by following this policy, and we have lost much during the past two years by neglecting it. If it be said that this is a sordid way of looking at great questions of national import, that we have missionaries to protect in the interior of China, etc., let it be remembered that we forfeit nothing on that score by declining the German proposal, and that the lives of American soldiers are worth saving also.

### *A CONTRAST.*

The morning newspapers of a week ago contained a fine piece of irony in the juxtaposition they presented of two telegrams from Manila. One was an official communication from the Taft Commission representing the fading condition of the "rebellion" in the Philippines, together with assurances that if Mr. McKinley were reëlected, the insurgents would disperse and peace and quietness would reign within sixty days. The other was an Associated Press dispatch saying that during the past seven days there had been a distinct increase of activity among the rebels, "particularly near Manila," and that an engagement took place on the previous Monday between ninety of our soldiers and one thousand of the enemy, in which we lost twelve killed, twenty-six wounded, and five missing, who are supposed to be dead. Among the killed are Capt. David D. Mitchell and Lieut. George A. Cooper of the Fifteenth Infantry, well-known officers, who had just arrived in the Philippines with the men of their regiment. The telegram stated that there was trouble in Manila also, and that there were rumors of a fresh attack on the railroad, that refugees were arriving from the country, that several garrisons and outposts had been attacked, the telegraph offices had been destroyed, the village of Rosario burned, a convoy of provisions attacked, the wagons burned, and five of the escort were missing. This report was officially confirmed by Gen. MacArthur, who adds the comment that a loss of thirty-three per cent. of the men engaged is profoundly impressive. It appears that in this instance the enemy's loss was less than our own, and that our men were forced to withdraw. It is a long time since we have had such a bloody and disastrous record. Of course we usually gain the victory, the insurgents are put to flight, and the dead are covered with glory. The condition of the island of Luzon, as here depicted, is strikingly like that foretold by Mr. Foreman in his late article in the *National Review*, on which we commented last week.

We will now return to the other telegram. This is a campaign document. It was drawn out by a cablegram from Secretary Root, dated August 17, which called for a report by cable on several things. Among others it requested a report on "the probable continuance of guerrilla warfare, and the influences operating to prolong it." This was as

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plain a hint as could be given, and it was promptly responded to. The answer was cabled from Manila on the 21st of August. It had been in Washington a month, and was made public at this time for its influence on the election. The whole scheme is betrayed in the following paragraph:

"If election confirms present policy, remnant of insurrection will disappear within sixty days by surrender of leaders and fading out of rank and file."

This confident prediction is preceded by a rather glowing account of the soothing effects of the recent amnesty proclamation on the temper of the Filipinos. We are told that on the 21st of August the insurgents, who had not actually surrendered, had divided up into small guerrilla bands, and that nearly all the prominent leaders had been captured or had voluntarily taken the oath of allegiance, and that "all northern Luzon, except in Nueva Ecija and Balucan, is substantially free from insurgents." This halcyon condition of the 21st of August is now proved to have been an entire misrepresentation. A force of one thousand men cannot be considered a guerrilla band. The destruction of life and property chronicled by the Associated Press under date of September 19 is entirely inconsistent with the peaceful and submissive state of the Filipino mind which Judge Taft and his associates found existing on the 21st of August. Yet we are bound to believe that these gentlemen honestly believed all that they said. They were simply deceived by appearances, which have misled so many officials in civil and military life before them. In other words, they have not had the personal knowledge which Mr. Foreman has had, gained by long residence and observation. They have not had the experience which the Spanish officials had acquired from time immemorial. They have hazarded an opinion which has been falsified on the very day that it was printed. Mr. Foreman said, in his article in the *National Review*, that unless the members of the Taft Commission were familiar with the Spanish language, they could not obtain any real knowledge of the situation which they had to deal with.

It is needless to say that Mr. McKinley's political prospects will not be advanced by the dismal contrast presented in the two cablegrams from Manila. If the American people were to vote this year on the situation in the Philippines, without reference to things nearer home, this attempt to work the Taft Commission for political ends, and the refutation of their report which the press dispatches bring in letters of blood, could not fail to be disastrous. We do not anticipate any considerable change of votes now. Mr. McKinley will be reelected, if this be his destiny, in spite of his Philippine policy, and not in consequence of it. We do not believe that the so-called rebellion will cease in consequence of his reëlection any more than we believe that the opponents of Imperialism will cease their opposition to it for that reason.

Their opposition is based not solely, not chiefly, on sympathy with a distant people fighting for liberty, but upon their apprehensions of the deadening influence of Imperialism abroad upon American principles, thoughts, habits at home. Since the reëlection of Mr. McKinley will not change the character and consequences of this ill-starred and blood-stained adventure, they will not cease their opposition to it. By and by the nation will grow sick and tired of the expense, the suffering, and the bad example that we offer to the world; and when it is discovered, as it surely will be, that there is "no money in it," that all the visions of wealth which have been dangled before our eyes (for the thousandth time in the Taft "report" itself) are unreal and delusive, it will not be regarded as such a dreadful thing to haul down the flag from a place where it ought never to have been raised.

## *LESSONS OF THE CENSUS.*

The present indications are that the census will show that the total population of the country on the 1st day of last June was a little less than 75,000,000. The increase during the last decade in the 127 cities which had been reported up to the middle of last week was 4,424,000, as against an increase in the same places during the ten years preceding 1890 of 4,479,000, or about 55,000 less. In 1890 these 127 cities contained about two-ninths of the entire population of the country, which was then 62,622,250. At the same ratio, the gain in population for the entire country will be about a quarter of a million less than the 12,466,467 between 1880 and 1890. If the same ratio of increase, as compared with the decade from 1880 to 1890, which is shown for the places thus far counted prevails throughout the rest of the country, the total population will be somewhere between 74,800,000 and 74,900,000. Of course, if it shall turn out that the smaller towns and the country districts have grown more rapidly in the last ten years, relatively to the cities, than they did in the census period which ended in 1890, the population may be larger than the present returns indicate. On the other hand, if the increase in the rural and semi-rural districts has been less rapid in comparison with the cities than formerly, the total population of the country on the 1st of June will prove to have been not so great as now seems probable.

Apparently the region beyond the Missouri River, exclusive of Oklahoma, has increased very slowly in population during the last decade. The figures for thirteen of the large cities of that section have been made public by the Census Office. They are Topeka and Kansas City, Kan.; Omaha, South Omaha, and Lincoln, Neb.; Denver and Pueblo, Col.; Salt Lake City, Utah; Portland, Ore.; and San Francisco, Oakland, and Sacramento, Cal. In 1890 these places were returned as having an aggregate population of 880,178. In 1900 they are reported to have 1,029,318—an increase of 149,140, or at the rate of only 17 per cent. The contrast with their rapid growth from 1880 to 1890 makes the present figures the more striking.

Twenty years ago these thirteen cities had 432,661 inhabitants. The increase during the next ten years, if the census figures of 1890 were accurate, was 447,517, or at the rate of about 103 per cent. The truth is that undoubtedly in Omaha, and possibly in other places, the census of 1890 was fraudulently inflated. There can, however, be no question that from 1880 to 1890 the growth of the trans-Missouri cities was very rapid. Indeed, as it has turned out, it was too rapid. Many of them were "boomed" beyond all reason. In the then state of the development of the resources of the tributary country, there was not sufficient permanent employment to support the people who flocked to them. When the inevitable collapse came, it was, of course, felt in exact proportion to the extent of the previous expansion. There was a sudden transition from every appearance of abounding prosperity to a condition of depression and gloom. This state of things contributed greatly to produce the enthusiasm for the free coinage of silver which was so general and intense in that region four years ago.

Next to the cities west of the Missouri, those of the States which made up the Southern Confederacy have grown most slowly in the last decade. From thirteen of them the census returns are now available—Richmond and Norfolk, Va.; Charleston, S. C.; Atlanta and Augusta, Ga.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Mobile, Montgomery, and Birmingham, Ala.; New Orleans, La.; Galveston, Texas; Little Rock, Ark.; and Nashville, Tenn. Ten years ago the aggregate population of these cities was 739,550. It is now 896,518, an increase of 156,968, or at the rate of about 21 per cent. In the preceding decade they had added to their population 193,293 inhabitants, or at the rate of 35 per cent., so that there has been a marked falling-off in their growth of late years.

The figures for 101 cities in the region north of the Potomac and east of the Missouri have been made public. In these the increase has been at the average rate of 33 per cent.; in the twenty-five New England cities, 32 per cent. Unless, as does not now appear probable, the figures for the comparatively few cities not yet counted shall materially change the situation, it would seem that the urban population of the South has

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grown but little faster than the rural, while in the North the proportion of city dwellers is steadily and rapidly increasing.

How great the contrast is in this respect between some portions of the North and the South, as a whole, appears from a comparison between Massachusetts and the eleven States which made up the Southern Confederacy. Those States have about ninety times the area of Massachusetts, and had in 1890 about seven times its population. Ten years ago they contained seventeen cities, each of which had a population of 25,000 or upwards. In Massachusetts there were sixteen such places, but these cities were on the average so much larger that their aggregate population was 215,000 greater than that of the seventeen Southern cities. During the last decade these sixteen Massachusetts cities have grown 30 per cent. in population, while the Southern cities thus far reported have grown but 21 per cent. In spite of the great extension of manufacturing in the South, the disparity in the proportion of rural to urban population between it and the North seems tending to increase rather than to diminish.

## *THE TRADE-UNION CONGRESS IN ENGLAND.*

The yearly assembly of trade-unionists in England, the thirty-third annual Congress, has just been held in the town of Huddersfield. The Mayor and Corporation of the town, the borough member of Parliament, and a large number of inhabitants assembled to give a welcome to 388 delegates of organized labor, representing 140 different trades and labor organizations, and about a million and a quarter of trade-unionists. At these annual meetings for deliberation and conference, the representatives of organized labor in England have for a generation prepared their industrial programme of action and declared their articles of faith. They have added new articles to their creed from time to time, but have year after year agreed upon a goodly number of issues which have long been identified with the trade-union movement.

The character of this year's deliberations may be inferred from the highly creditable discussion, in the President's opening address, of the scientific and philosophical aspect of the trade-union movement. He entered upon a lengthy argument regarding the struggle for existence in animal and vegetable life, and also among primitive men, quoting freely from the writings of Darwin, Spencer, Lubbock, and Huxley, and speculating upon the probability that the régime of collectivism, if it should be instituted, would suspend the struggle for existence and occasion ultimately the degeneration of mankind. Such an address delivered before an assembly of workingmen is certainly calculated to strike Americans with surprise.

This year again the old dissension has broken out, mildly but unmistakably, between the trade-unionists and the co-operators. The old charge was brought against the coöperators that they had attempted to defeat the just claims of the trade-unionists, and that they did not maintain trade-union conditions for their workmen, but "simply used the trade-union movement as a sort of advertisement for exploiting labor." The reply made to these charges by one delegate is significant of a great change of sentiment which has been taking place among trade-unionists since the days when they went about smashing tools, and organizing riots against those employers who undertook the introduction of labor-saving machinery. It was boldly asserted that the kernel of the whole affair was that the tailors were objecting to the introduction of the factory system, and they were advised to follow the example of the compositors and "get a hold of the machine."

It is interesting to note that the Congress took occasion to express its mind upon the war in South Africa, judged from an industrial point of view. While it was not unanimous in its opinion, the following resolution was carried by a small majority:

> "That this Congress regrets that the Parliamentary Committee has not referred to the disastrous effect upon the trade and industry of the country which has resulted from the cruel and unnecessary war now being waged in South Africa; and, further, protests against the suppression of these two independent states, at the dictates of cosmopolitan capitalists, as a blow against the independence of South African labor and those principles of national freedom which have characterized the history of the closing century."

One of the American delegates to the Congress improved the occasion to declare that he did not believe that Americans had any business with an army in the Philippines, that under the Constitution they had no right to hold subject peoples, and that doing so meant the opening of the doors of America to the low standards of civilization of Asia—an event greatly to be deprecated.

The Congress placed itself on record as unanimously in favor of old-age pensions, declaring that the only legislation which will solve the problem presented by age and poverty in modern industrial life is that which recognizes the pension as a civic right, which may be claimed by any citizen on reaching a given age. The chief objection to such a scheme, said Mr. Steadman, M.P., was its cost. It has been ascertained, however, he asserted, that the cost of a reasonable scheme would be only £10,300,000 per annum, and "surely a Government that could raise sixty, seventy, or eighty million pounds in a few months to fight a foreign country, was in a position to find the ways and means for such a beneficent work as taking care of the aged poor." This was no "harum-scarum resolution," but a practical proposition, and he appealed to the working classes not to be led astray at the coming general election by "khaki demonstrations."

Another matter which has been agitating the labor world a great deal of late—the advisability of compulsory arbitration—received due consideration. The motion was made to urge upon Parliament the passage of a compulsory conciliation-arbitration act, and the appointment of a court with authority to enforce awards by fines and imprisonment. This called forth an interesting discussion of New Zealand legislation, in the course of which it was very sensibly observed that what might be all very well for New Zealand might not work at all well in old England, where they were bound down by centuries of tradition. Further, objection was made to the idea of putting the affairs of trade-unionists in the hands of the courts, and the motion was lost by a vote of nearly four to one.

Of course, the eight-hour question came up for consideration, and the Congress declared itself strongly in favor of an eight-hour working day in all trades and occupations in Great Britain, on the ground that the foreign-competition argument against the institution of an eight-hour day was a "bogey" to keep down wages, and that real competition for Lancashire operatives came from countries where hours were shortest and wages highest, not from the half-starved, overworked laborers of China and Russia. Resolutions were introduced regarding the housing of the working classes, the employment of women and children, workmen's cheap trains, amendments to the factory acts, and other matters of local or passing interest. Upon all these questions the deliberations of the delegates were characterized by a moderation and intelligence which will command the respect of all readers—a contrast, indeed, to our labor congresses, where the dominant notion is that an organization exists primarily for the purpose of ordering and conducting strikes, and where "deliberation" commonly gives way to passionate, unintelligent denunciation of capital.

## *THE LATE MR. HENRY SIDGWICK.*

By the death of Henry Sidgwick, till lately Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, England has just lost one of her finest thinkers, and the two ancient English universities one of their brightest ornaments. His books are so well known in the United States that some account of their author, a man even more remarkable than could have been gathered from his books, may be valued by our readers.

Henry Sidgwick was born at Skipton in Yorkshire, on May 31, 1838. His father, who died comparatively young, was a clergyman and (we believe) the head-master of one of the ancient grammar-schools of England, and

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the family belonged to Yorkshire. The son was educated at Rugby, and went thence to Trinity College, Cambridge, where his career was a brilliant one. He came out in the degree examinations as senior in the classical tripos (*i. e.*, the first classical student of the year), and was speedily elected a Fellow of Trinity. Though admirably fitted by his mastery of language and the delicacy of his taste to make classical scholarship his career, he was soon drawn off to the study of what are called in Cambridge the moral sciences—metaphysics, ethics, and psychology; and he became first a College Lecturer and then (in 1875) a University Prælector in these subjects. In 1883 he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy. The selection was all the more creditable to the electors because he had, in 1869, resigned his fellowship, on the ground that he could no longer subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, the acceptance of which was, until 1871, still required by law for the tenure of a fellowship. In May last the symptoms of a fatal malady appeared, and he at once resigned his chair, fearing he would be no longer able (although he had been encouraged to hope for some more years of life) adequately to discharge its duties.

Though he took a lively interest in educational questions, and was much occupied in particular with matters affecting the curriculum and administrative work of the University, the main business of his life was teaching and writing. Three books stand out as those by which he will be best remembered by the learned world—his 'Methods of Ethics,' his 'Principles of Political Economy,' and his 'Elements of Politics.' All three have won the admiration of those who are experts in the subjects to which they respectively relate; and all three bear alike the impress of the peculiar quality of his mind.

It was a mind of singular subtlety, fertility, and ingenuity, which applied to every topic an extremely minute and patient analysis. It was never satisfied with the obvious view of a question, and seemed unable to acquiesce in any broad and sweeping statement. It discovered objections to every prevalent doctrine, exceptions to every rule. It perceived minute distinctions and qualifications which had escaped the notice of previous writers. These qualities made the books somewhat difficult reading for a beginner, who was apt to ask what, after all, was the conclusion to which he had been led by an author who showed him the subject in so many lights, and added so many minor propositions to that which had seemed to be the main one. But the student who had already some knowledge of the topic, and was aware of its difficulties, gained immensely by having so many fresh points presented to him; so many fallacies lurking in currently accepted notions detected; so many conditions indicated which might qualify the trend of a general proposition. The method of discussion was very stimulating. Sometimes it reminded one of the Socratic method as it appears in Plato, but more frequently it was the method of Aristotle, who discusses a subject first from one side, then from another, throws out a number of remarks, not always reconcilable, but always suggestive, regarding it, and finally arrives at a view which he delivers as being probably the best, but one to be taken subject to the remarks previously made. One often feels with Sidgwick's treatment, as one sometimes feels with Aristotle's, that one would like to be left with something more definite and positive; something that can be easily delivered to learners as an established truth. But one also feels how much one is benefited by the process of sifting and analyzing to which every conception or doctrine is subjected, and perceives that one is really far more able to handle it afterwards in one's own way when one has had pointed out all these distinctions and antinomies which would have escaped any vision less keen than that of such an author.

Sidgwick's attitude toward the Benthamite system of Utilitarianism illustrates this habit of mind. He called himself a Utilitarian, just as in mental philosophy he leaned rather to the type of thought represented by the two Mills than to the Hegelianism of his friend and school contemporary, the Oxford professor, T. H. Green. But the system of Utility takes in his hands a form so much more refined and delicate than was given to it by Bentham and James Mill, and is expounded with so many qualifications unknown to them, that it has become a very different thing, and is scarcely, if at all, assailable by the arguments which moralists of the idealistic type have brought against the older doctrine. Something similar may be said of his treatment of bimetallism in his book on 'Political Economy.' He assents to some of the general propositions on which the bimetallic theory rests, but he points out many difficulties in the application of that theory to the actual conditions of currency which its advocates have usually ignored, so that the assent he gives cannot really be cited as a deliverance in favor of trying to apply it. It ought to be added that his ingenuity and subtlety are always restrained by practical good sense, as well as by the desire to reconcile opposite views. His arguments, though they often turn on minute distinctions, are not fine drawn, but have substance in them. He is candid against himself, never omitting to set out what militates against the view he is disposed to accept as on the whole nearest to the truth.

This tendency to analysis rather than to construction, and to the deliverance of doctrines easy to comprehend and repeat, though it sometimes perplexed the more hasty readers of his books, did not affect his literary criticisms. In this field his fine perception, his cultured and discriminative taste, had full scope. Very few of his contemporaries equalled him in it. No one surpassed him in catholicity and reasonableness, in the power of delicate appreciation, or in an exquisite precision of expression. These literary essays, which appeared occasionally in magazines, were few, but it is much to be wished that they should be collected and republished, for this age of ours, which is so largely occupied in talking about literature, has produced comparatively little literary criticism of the first order of merit.

Sidgwick did not write swiftly or easily, because he weighed carefully everything he wrote. But his mind was a quick one, alert and nimble in the highest degree. Thus he was an admirable talker, seeing in a moment the point of an argument, seizing on distinctions which the rest of the company had not noticed, suggesting new aspects from which a question might be regarded, and illumining every topic by a bright yet sweet and kindly wit. Wit was, indeed, one of the characteristics by which his friends were most charmed, though he did not often indulge himself with it in his books. And the effect was often heightened by a hesitation in his speech which forced him to pause before the critical word or phrase of the sentence had been reached. When that word or phrase came, it was sure to be exactly the right one. Though very fond of arguing, he was so candid and fair, admitting all that there was in his opponent's case, and obviously trying to see the point from his opponent's side, that nobody felt annoyed at having come off second-best, while everybody who knew what good talk is, went away feeling not only that he knew far more about the matter than he did before, but that he had enjoyed an intellectual pleasure of a rare and high kind.

There is only one branch of his active work to which reference need be made, viz., the part he took in promoting the university education of women. In or about the year 1868 he joined with the late Miss Anne Jane Clough (sister of the poet Arthur Clough) in establishing a course of lectures and a hall of residence at Cambridge which grew into the institution called Newnham College. It and Girton College, founded by other friends of the same cause about the same time, were the two first institutions in England which provided a complete university training for women equivalent and similar to that provided by the two ancient English universities for men, together with residential accommodation. Henry Sidgwick was, from the foundation of Newnham onwards, the moving spirit and the guiding hand among its university friends, the spirit which inspired the policy and the hand which piloted the fortunes of the college. Its success and its usefulness have been very largely due to his assiduity and his wisdom. He had married (in 1876) Miss Eleanor Mildred Balfour, sister of Mr. Arthur Balfour (First Lord of the Treasury in England), and when, some years ago, she took up the principalship of Newnham after Miss Clough's death, he and she transferred their residence to the college, and lived thenceforward at it. In all the movements that have been made for obtaining a fuller admission for women to university privileges, he bore a leading part, and well deserves the gratitude of Englishwomen for the unceasing efforts he made on their behalf.

The obscure problems of psychology had a great attraction for him, and he spent much time in investigating them, being one of the founders and remaining a prominent member of the English Society for Psychical Research, which has investigated these problems so diligently for the last twenty years. It was characteristic of him that he never committed himself to any of the bold and sometimes rather hasty conclusions reached by some of his fellow-workers, while yet he never was deterred by failure, or by the discovery of attempted deceptions, from pursuing inquiries which seemed to him to promise ultimately valuable results. The phenomena, he would say, may be true or false; anyhow they deserve investigation. If they are false, it will be a service to have proved them so. Science ought to take them out of the hand of charlatans.

An eminent man is known to the world at large by what he gives them in the way of instruction or of pleasure. A man is prized and remembered by his friends for what he

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was in the intercourse of life. Few men of our time have had a wider or a more devoted circle of friends than Henry Sidgwick. He had the highest sense of the duties of friendship, and never failed to respond by way either of counsel or of sympathy. His stores of knowledge, his acute criticism, were always at the service of fellow-workers. In many points he seemed to reproduce one of the philosophers of antiquity. His life was almost ascetic in its simplicity. He was free alike from vanity and from ambition, and went on the even tenor of his way in a single-minded pursuit of truth for its own sake. He seemed to have neither prejudices nor enmities, and, when he had to blame, chose the least cutting words in which to do it. It was related, as an instance of his sense of public duty, that at a Parliamentary election which raised an issue he thought momentous to the welfare of the country, he travelled all the way from Davos, in the easternmost corner of Switzerland, to Cambridge to record his vote, although there was little doubt as to how the election would go. In an English university, where, though the society is very large, everybody knows everybody else, such qualities as his naturally gave him immense influence, and won affection as well as admiration for him.

It was a model life, in which the spirit of philosophy seemed to have its perfect work; a life of single-minded devotion to truth and duty and friendship; a life serene, gentle, unperturbed by the ordinary desires and objects of ambition, and viewing with a calm fortitude those great problems of man's future on which his mind was always bent. It was a life which has been an example to many beyond as well as within the University where his life was spent. This generation has seen no more beautiful spirit.

## *CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.*

Before returning to these columns, I have been thinking a good deal about a subject which occupied many years of my life, and which was known to the country as "civil-service reform." It had first attracted my attention in the year after the war, because no one who had not been born under the "spoils system" could think of this system as a possible means of governing a great community. The spoils system as I had known it in England, was the division of places in the public employ among a small number of rich people, who were known to be responsible for the use they made of their patronage, and were really a little ashamed of each other when they did things unusually disreputable. Moreover, the tenure of office was for life, and the pay was pretty good. It was therefore worth the while of even the most ill-qualified appointee to fit himself for his place, and he had abundant time to do so. The system was full of scandals, nevertheless, but the scandals were kept down by the comparatively small number among whom the patronage was divided, and by the desire of the appointee himself to make his office seem respectable. The Foreign Office clerks, for instance, in London, and in fact the Government clerks generally, were kept in some degree reputable by the fact that they had to be persons fit to figure in what is called "society."

Under the "spoils system" as it was known in America after Jackson's time, everybody had qualifications enough for any office he could get, and the getting of office depended upon services to the party in power. After the suffrage had become universal —that is, about 1848—in most parts of the country, the number of candidates for places was, of course, enormously increased, and less and less attention began to be paid to any kind of fitness except party fidelity, and the talk of any other kind of fitness soon became a little ridiculous. Moreover, with such a vast number of persons in the field competing for the offices, it was absolutely necessary that the tenure should be short and uncertain. Every office had to be made to go as far as possible in conciliating and winning supporters. At the time the *Nation* was started, a stream, composed of men who had been dismissed, was constantly pouring forth from one door of a large custom-house or post-office, while a similar stream, composed of men who had got their vacant places, was pouring in at another. The scandals which such a state of things was sure to produce, or had already produced, were concealed, first by the anti-slavery struggle, then by the war. In fact, plain people all over the country had become convinced that what was called "rotation in office" was the true democratic system; that the consideration of any other qualification than party fidelity was foreign and "un-American."

The very first attempt to arouse the nation to the dangers of this state of things was made by Mr. Jenckes, a member of Congress from Rhode Island, who spoke powerfully, and introduced a reformatory bill in Congress for some years after the war, namely, 1866-68; but he secured very little attention. It was considered a "fad" of his, and no "practical man" thought it worth while listening to him. I was among the number, however, of those who were looking around for reformatory work to do, and did really believe that the time had come to redress the abuses which the war had created or had brought to the surface. I accordingly began to back Mr. Jenckes up in the *Nation*, and organized, with the assistance of Mr. Henry Villard, who was at that time the Secretary of the Social Science Association, a meeting, which we convened by invitation and which was held on January 16, 1869, in one of the rooms in the old University Building in Washington Square, to hear Mr. Jenckes expound his new gospel. It was a select audience, comprising among others the late James Brown, Howard Potter, George Cabot Ward, C. E. Detmold, and Charles Loring Brace. We thought it desirable that his address should be followed up by approving resolutions, and I was appointed to draft them. Unhappily, the proposer, the late S. B. Chittenden, was unable to read my hasty handwriting; more unhappily still, when I was asked to take his place, I could not read it either, which was an inauspicious beginning, but we got over it. Owing to the prominent share which Mr. George William Curtis afterwards took in *Harper's Weekly* in the work, many people are now under the impression that he originated the civil-service-reform agitation. In this there is no truth whatsoever. He, too, was under the impression that we had entered on the reformatory period, but the question which he thought most ripe for settlement was woman suffrage. For two years the *Nation* was the only periodical which, to my knowledge, deigned to notice the civil-service-reform movement as a thing of practical importance. In fact, until nearly our own time, the politicians have never even grasped the name of the reform. To most of them it is still known as "civil service."

In the beginning it was considered a sort of Prussian whimsy, with which some foolish young men were occupying themselves. In 1865 a breakfast was given by one of them, then resident in Washington, to a few of those interested in the movement, to which one or two Senators and members of the House were invited. I was deputed to enlighten one of the Senators, who still sits in that august body, as to what was meant by "civil-service reform." They clearly considered it a harmless folly to which the American people would never give any countenance. This feeling found expression in after years among politicians through dubbing it "snivel-service reform," and the persons engaged in promoting it as "Miss Nancys." In their eyes it bore about the same relation to "real politics" which croquet bears to baseball or football. Rotation in office, with "spoils" for the victors at elections, was the manly way of playing the game; any other way was considered too silly for discussion. Besides this, it was freely denounced by those politicians who took it seriously as part of a hideous and widespread attempt "to establish caste in America." I was struck at that time by the disappearance from the minds of political men of the idea that party contests were intended in any degree to promote the public welfare. The theory that the elections were simply games of poker, intended to transfer the offices and salaries to the party which could get most votes, had taken firm hold of the political mind. For long years politicians favored the reform, but denounced "this particular measure."

Since that period the new system under which offices are awarded for merit, to be ascertained by an examination, has made considerable progress, at least in the Federal service. It is no longer considered ridiculous to ascertain a man's fitness by examination. But even President Cleveland, who owed a good deal of his support to his supposed friendship for civil-service reform, showed after his first election that he had not fully grasped the reform idea. The civil-service reformers in New York, for instance, urged the reappointment of Mr. Pearson to the Postmastership of that city, a position which he had reached by repeated and deserved promotions under Republican Administrations. I went to Washington to see Mr. Cleveland about it, in company with the late Mr. Dorman B. Eaton. Mr. Cleveland was civil to us, and cheerfully acceded to our request for Mr. Pearson's appointment, but it was quite clear, through a conversation with him afterwards, that he accorded us this favor, not so much because he thought the reform was a good thing, as because he considered us entitled to something for supporting him at his election. In fact, the reform has, from the first moment, been dependent on the President's good will, and the good will has been largely dependent upon what its promoters did to help him get his office. The thing that has most plainly appeared in the history of the reform is that it has owed such success as it has achieved, not to the belief in it of Congressmen, but to the fear entertained by many of them that opposition to it would damage them at the polls. In

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other words, it has never been the result of clear national policy. On the President has been thrown the responsibility of enforcing the law. Every President has met this responsibility by consulting his own election-eering needs in various parts of the country. Hardly in any two great offices has the law been enforced with equal rigidity.

The great obstacle in the way of the reform is neither American nor English; it is simply human. All that we know, by past experience, of the attempts of man to provide himself with a government, makes it most unlikely that an effort, repeated every four years, on the part of one hundred millions of people, to elect a single officer as the chief of a state, should succeed. It seemed reasonable enough when the Constitution was framed for 3,000,000 of people, leading a simple agricultural life. All democracies of which the world has had any experience, have been small, and the thinking of the same things about the republic has been an easy matter. Our desire to create a "world Power" out of the Federal machine is a fiasco, full of shame and disappointment. One thing alone would suffice to prevent its success, even if there were no others, and that is the power lodged in the person nominated for the office to secure his election, or reëlection, by the distribution of an enormous patronage. This attempt has to be repeated or promised every four years, and of course every repetition increases the tide of corruption. I do not need to point out the differences between McKinley's career and that of one of the early Presidents in this respect. Our Presidential election is almost a disgrace to human nature, so flagrant are the abuses by which the contention is carried on, on both sides, and so absurd the arguments by which the claims of the respective candidates are advocated. As an illustration, McKinley's principal claim to the support of thousands of respectable people is, that he is not as bad as Bryan. The selection of a third man from the whole population, better than either, which would be the natural human thing to do, is considered impossible. Federal America is to-day, in the last resort, ruled by a small knot of "bosses," of the mental calibre and education of Platt.

E. L. G.

## THE BREACH BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA.

STRETENSK, SIBERIA, August 6, 1900.

Up to the first of July the relations between the Russians and the Chinese seemed most cordial. The treaty which gave Port Arthur to Russia and permitted the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway through Mantchuria, provided that the President of the road should be a Chinaman, that at the expiration of a hundred years the Chinese Government should be permitted to purchase it, and that the protection of the road should be jointly secured by Chinese and Russian troops. The flag of the company is a combination of the Chinese and the Russian.

When I passed through Mantchuria along the line of the railway in June, perfect harmony seemed to prevail. The guards sent along with us were part of the time Chinese and the other part Cossacks. The engineer constructing the road terminating at the upper Sungari River spoke in special praise of his Chinese soldiers. Our Cossack guards always seemed on the most cordial terms with the Chinese along the way, especially with the children. The news which we brought of the disturbances along the railway near Pekin and Tientsin, caused no alarm, since these roads were controlled by English and German companies, and it was thought that the opposition was chiefly against the English.

Still, there were some ominous signs. At Teling, near Mukden, the engineers, about the middle of June, received a telegram from Pekin saying that no more laborers could be procured on account of the revolution. At Quan-Chen-tse we learned that there was much feeling against the road, arising from the ill-treatment of the workmen, so that for some time no Mantchurians had been willing to labor for the company. Many were prophesying that the road would never be completed. So far as we could learn, however, the cause of complaint lay with the Chinese contractors and not with the company, except as they did not exercise sufficient control over these. The work of grading was let out to Chinese middlemen, who hired coolies, whom they squeezed and cheated to the extent of their ability, which is second to that of no other people in the world. The coolies were all imported from the vicinity of Che-Foo and Tientsin. Probably 200,000 were at work along the line when we were there.

When we emerged from the region the last of June, no fears were entertained by the Russians at Harbin. A few days after, however, everything was changed. The families of the engineers were compelled to seek safety in flight. We found a number of them in Blagovestchensk a month later awaiting opportunity to ascend the Amur to find railway transit home. Troops in great haste were gathered from every quarter, and hurried to Harbin for the protection of the property. In this effort Blagovestchensk was left defenceless, and was soon besieged by the Chinese. There was a general conscription of horses all along the border, with the mobilization of all the troops and the seizure of all the steamers on the river for their transportation.

Instead of having escaped from danger in ascending the Amur, we had run directly into it. The northern part of Mantchuria is mostly mountainous and sparsely inhabited. From the mouth of the Sungari River to Blagovestchensk there are but few settlements on the Mantchurian side of the Amur. Above that city for five hundred miles, the Chinese settlements are equally scarce. But the valley of the Nonni extends from the centre of Mantchuria well up to the vicinity of Blagovestchensk, and is thickly studded with villages. This line of settlements is continued to the Amur, and through it the Chinese in large numbers had overflowed into the valley of that river, not only settling on the Mantchurian side, but living in great numbers in peaceful relations with the Cossacks on the Russian side. A fort was built by the Chinese many years ago at Aygun, about twelve miles below. To a great extent the Russians were dependent on the Chinese for labor in the mines up the Zeya River, and for their supply of vegetables, which the Chinese are specially successful in raising. That the Russians should have been so oblivious to the danger from an attack at this point is one of the most striking evidences of the cordiality of relations supposed to exist between the countries.

But in the twinkling of an eye all this was changed. As soon as the Russian troops went down the river on transports (July 14), the fort at Aygun began, without warning, to fire upon passing steamboats, and, on the 15th, fire was opened upon Blagovestchensk, and some Russian villages were burned opposite the fort. The actual injury inflicted by the Chinese was slight; but the terror caused by it was indescribable, and it drove the Cossacks into a frenzy of rage. The peaceable Chinese, to the number of 3,000 or 4,000, in the city were expelled in great haste, and, being forced upon rafts entirely inadequate, were most of them drowned in attempting to cross the river. The stream was fairly black with their bodies. Three days after, we counted hundreds of them in the water. In our ride through the country to reach the city on Thursday, the 19th, we saw as many as thirty villages and hamlets of the Chinese in flames. One of them was a city of 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants. We estimated that we saw the dwellings of 20,000 peaceable Chinese in flames that awful day, while parties of Cossacks were scouring the fields to find Chinese, and shooting them down at sight. What became of the women and children no one knew; but there was apparently no way for them to escape to a place of safety. On our way up the river for 500 miles above the city, every Chinese hamlet was a charred mass of ruins. The large village of Motcha was still smoking, and we were told that 4,000 Chinese had been killed.

We do not mention these facts to excite prejudice against the Russian authorities or against the Cossacks. This work of devastation has not been ordered by those high in authority. It is rather the result of mob violence such as instigates the promoters of lynch law in the Southern States, or, more nearly, such as has from time immemorial animated the pioneers in America against the Indians. The wholesale destruction, both of property and of life, was thought to be a military necessity. The wives and children of the Cossacks were in terror. I shall never forget the night spent in one of these villages a few miles below Aygun, three or four days after hostilities began. Every household was packed up in carts and removed in the middle of the night to the prairies in the interior. The guards were insufficient, and the only way, as they thought, to protect their own families was to strike terror into the hearts of all the Chinese. And so the work of destruction has gone on.

Since we left, we hear that Aygun has been taken amid a great loss of life to the Chinese. Work in the mines is paralyzed and the laborers driven out. Peace between the Russians and the Chinese, the two greatest nations of the world, has come to an end. Years cannot wipe out the enmity engendered. The Chinese Eastern Railway extends for 1,800 miles through a country that must remain hostile. The American Indians were so few that they could be exterminated or absorbed. The absorbing capacity of the Chinese is fully equal to that of the Russians. Yet these nations are now brought into contact along a line 2,000 miles in extent. The prospect is not pleasing. Can the breach be healed? Can time erase the memories of the last two weeks? It seems impossible.

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

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## YELLOWSTONE PARK AS A SUMMER RESORT.

BILLINGS, Montana, September, 1900.

The number of visitors to the Yellowstone National Park during the summer of 1895 was 5,438. In 1899 it was 9,579. This increase was no doubt owing in considerable part to the large amount of advertising the Park has received within the last few years in railway folders. Three railroads are now interested in promoting the popularity of our national game preserve and geyser region, and they not only call attention to the wonders of the Park in all their ordinary folders, but issue finely illustrated special pamphlets with good maps and detailed information for tourists. The Northern Pacific proudly prints the words "Yellowstone National Park Route" at the head of every page of its folders. It owns and runs the fifty-one-mile branch road from Livingston to Cinnabar, near the northern entrance to the Park, and also the hotels in the Park. The Burlington route, justly famed for its excellent dining-car service on the European plan—which is rapidly getting to be the American plan, too—offers special facilities to tourists from the South and Southeast in its line through Nebraska and Wyoming, with through cars from St. Louis to Portland, connecting with the Northern Pacific at Billings and thence reaching the Park in a few hours. It is probable that in time the Burlington will build a branch of its own to the Park, on the eastern side, from Toluca. A road in that direction has, in fact, just been begun, and 30 miles of the 110 to Cody, Wyoming, are to be constructed by Crow Indians.

Tourists taking the Burlington route have an opportunity, by stopping over at Edgemont, to see the famous Hot Springs in South Dakota, the mining towns Deadwood and Lead City, the Black Hills, and a splendid cave—the Wind Cave, ten miles from Hot Springs—which is interesting even to those who have seen Mammoth Cave, and has some strange and beautiful formations not to be found in the latter. With its various branches, it appears to be almost as extensive as the Kentucky cave; about a hundred miles, with 3,000 chambers, having been already explored. The fact that the entrance to this cave is a narrow hole descending almost straight down for 155 feet before the level route is reached, and that often a strong wind rushes out of this hole, has suggested to imaginative tourists returning from the Yellowstone that this Wind Cave is the cavity of an extinct geyser. There is no scientific evidence to support this view, except the proximity of Hot Springs, but the theory has its charms for those who wonder where the big geysers of the Park can store the enormous volumes of steam and water that issue from them at intervals.

The third railroad that has helped to make the Park conveniently accessible is the Oregon Short Line, which, since my last visit, three years ago, has opened a new way to the Park from the West, offering special facilities to visitors from Idaho, Utah, and California. In connection with this railroad a new stage line makes the round trip of the Park from Monida—a word formed of the first syllables of Montana and Idaho—to Cinnabar in six days. Except that this stage line makes Mammoth Hot Springs its last stop instead of the first, it follows the same route as the older Yellowstone Park Transportation Company, and the passengers of both stop at the Northern Pacific Company's hotels. Apart from these two stage lines, there are (besides walking and wheeling, both of which are indulged in to some extent) three ways of making the 150-mile round trip of the Park as usually seen by tourists. Some take their own wagons, tents, and provisions; others go with one of the parties who are licensed to conduct tourists, with movable camps (not to be commended, as a rule); while a great and growing number go with Mr. Wylie (formerly professor at the Bozeman, Mont., Academy), who, five years ago, conceived the sensible plan of establishing, at the most important points, permanent camps consisting of large and small tents, with spring beds and stoves, and dining-room, so that tourists can have all the pleasures and experiences of tenting—with a blazing camp fire every evening—without the necessity of hunting for fuel and water and doing their own foraging and cooking. Some travellers will always prefer a hotel to a tent; but the increasing popularity of the Wylie Company is due largely to the fact that it gives tourists a whole day instead of only a few hours at the two places where they are most anxious to linger—the Upper Geyser Basin and the Cañon. Mr. Wylie is now considering a plan of introducing automobiles in place of stages. This would be a most welcome innovation, as it would solve the problem of the dust (which, on account of the drought, has been a special nuisance this summer), and would either reduce the time required for seeing the Park one-half, or enable tourists to remain longer at the principal points of attraction.

I wonder why the writers of railway pamphlets, in their commendable efforts to make the marvels of the Yellowstone Park known to the travelling public, do not quote as an irresistible appeal a passage in Capt. Chittenden's valuable book on the Park (p. 53), in which he relates how, when James Bridger, the Daniel Boone of the Rockies, on his return from this region, tried to have his narratives published, "no periodical would lend itself to his service. The editor of the Kansas City *Journal* stated editorially in 1879 that Bridger had told him of these wonders fully thirty years before. He prepared an article from Bridger's description, but suppressed it because his friends ridiculed the whole thing as incredible. He later publicly apologized to Bridger." By 1872 the tales of Bridger and those who had preceded and followed him were sufficiently credited to induce Congress to set aside this region as a national park. It was a big reservation to make—61.8 miles long by 53.6 wide, or 3,312.5 square miles; but hot springs, geysers, and other curiosities are to be found in all parts of it, and many of them would have been destroyed or turned to base uses ere this had not the Government taken them under its protection. At present most of the visitors remain barely long enough to get a glimpse of the principal volcanic phenomena and scenic features, but I believe the time is approaching when the Park will become a popular summer resort, at which visitors will remain long enough to see everything properly and to lay in a supply of health for a year's work.

It may seem strange to commend a region which Bridger picturesquely described as "a place where hell bubbles up" as a summer resort; but it must be remembered that it is only the water—or some of it—that is hot, while the air is always cool by day (at least in the shade), and at night as cold as the trout brooks which flow past the hot springs and geysers—often so closely that one can easily catch a trout and cook it on the line without moving a step. This delightful and invigorating freshness of the air is due to the fact that nearly the whole Park region is between 7,000 and 8,000 feet above ocean level—an altitude from which one would look down on the top of Mount Washington a quarter of a mile or more. And during the exceptionally hot summer we have just passed through I doubt whether there was another place in the United States so cool as the Yellowstone Park, with the possible exception of the tops of Mount Washington and Roan Mountain in North Carolina. When we first arrived, indeed, it seemed as if it were going to be almost too cool for comfort. On the morning of July 19 a glass of water on our washstand in the tent at Willow Park was a solid chunk of ice, and a man who got up at five said the thermometer was down to 18 degrees. This was exceptional, and was not repeated, but at some of the camps—they vary according to altitude and exposure—there is frost nearly every night, and the evening and morning fires in the hotels and tents are much appreciated. The warmest station in the Park is Fort Yellowstone (Mammoth Hot Springs), and there, according to the official report, the maximum in July and August, 1899, was 88 and 83, respectively, the minimum 34 and 34, the mean 61.39 and 56.96. The coldest station is Willow Park, where the Apollinaris Spring furnishes an abundance of delicious ice-cold mineral water, and where there is the best brook-trout fishing. The cold nights are conducive to profound, refreshing sleep; but in view of the high altitude and considerable daily range of temperature, it is obvious that the Park can be commended as a summer resort only to healthy persons who need rest, and not to those whose hearts or lungs are diseased.

Visitors who make up their mind to spend a month or two in the Park will not suffer from lack of diversion. Fishermen in particular will find an abundance of streams to cast their flies on in July or their grasshoppers in August. The trout, to be sure, is a coy, fickle beast. One evening, near Willow Park camp, I caught twenty-four; the next evening, in the same region and under similar conditions, only two. Early in July, in the same creek, a man and his wife, both experts, caught more than 500 in two days. They ought to have been arrested and sent out of the Park. Such greed spoils a whole brook for the season. The Firehole River and its tributaries at the Upper Geyser Basin are full of trout, but they bite only late at night, or when there are clouds and a ruffling breeze. The lake is as full of salmon trout as ever, and parties going out for an hour or two in boats often bring back from 50 to 100, weighing from one to two pounds each. These are not nearly such good food as the brook trout; but it is more fun to catch them. Some of the two-pounders have to be played five or ten minutes before they can be lifted out. Many of these fish, though not as large a proportion as for-

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merly, are diseased, and these are not gamy at all, nor, of course, are they fit to eat. The lake trout are also caught in the Yellowstone River, as far down as the falls. About two miles above the upper falls, on the right side of the river, the fishing is very good. There I caught, in an hour, ten, weighing fifteen pounds.

Trout are the only animals visitors are allowed to kill in the Park. Hunters must leave their guns at the entrance in charge of the soldiers, or, if they expect to leave by another route, must have them sealed. "Snapshots," however, are not forbidden, and three persons out of every four are provided with cameras. It is being generally recognized now that it requires more skill and is more fun to kodak an animal than to murder it. Some tourists get group pictures of 60 to 100 or more elk. Most of them get a chance at the deer, which sometimes remain in the road till the stage is less than a hundred yards away. At Willow Park there was an opportunity to watch beavers at work. Some men partly destroyed their dam, repeatedly, working at it an hour with hooks; but twenty-four hours later the busy beavers had built it all up again. It was interesting to watch them swimming down stream with twigs in their mouths, which they deposited and fastened deftly in the swift current, or diving for mud. They did not mind the spectators. One day a tourist caught one of them by the tail and tried for half an hour to take him to the camp; but the beaver fastened his sharp teeth in the man's leg and he was glad to let him go. The Yellowstone Park is the only place in the world where one can see beavers at work thus fearlessly. It is also the only place where buffalo are still to be found roaming at large; not many, however—probably only twenty or thirty. The scouts see them, occasionally, in winter.

There are many other animals that the tourist may chance to see, but his best friend is bruin. There are nearly as many bears in the Park as there are monkeys in a tropical forest, and they are almost as amusing. The hotels make it a point to dump their kitchen refuse a few hundred yards behind the house, and in the evening from half a dozen to twenty bears will come from the woods for their supper. One evening I saw four almost tumbling down a hill in their hurry to get to the spot. Sometimes two will quarrel over a bone, get on their hind legs and paw one another. Their growls sound dangerous in the dark, but there is no danger to the on-lookers. At most of the hotels and camps they also have bear cubs chained to poles, and these afford much amusement. At the Lake Hotel this summer there were a pair of twins, one of whom was considerably stronger than the other. One afternoon they were boxing and wrestling playfully when their chains accidentally got caught and twisted. It was amusing to note the growing indignation each one manifested in the belief that the other one was choking him. The blows, growls and bites became a serious matter, and the stronger one finally got so vicious that two men had to come and untwist the chains. When we last saw the cubs they were sitting as far apart as their chains would allow them, with a sulky expression of "I won't play with *you* any more."

At one of the Wylie camps they had only one cub, which felt lonely and bleated just like a lamb. The mother came to see and nurse it several times a day, and every time she went away she kept looking round again and again, in a way which plainly meant, "Well, why don't you come?" At the Cañon Hotel they had a grizzly cub, but most of the bears in the Park are of the black and cinnamon varieties. The blacks are timid, but the cinnamons, though they will not attack unprovoked, sometimes refuse to be driven away. At one of the lunch stations, this summer, a cinnamon helped himself to the meat in the kitchen and refused to leave. The soldiers were called and he growled at them, too, whereupon he was shot. The soldiers also kill, early in the season, all the animals that might possibly prove dangerous, such as gray wolves, wildcats, and mountain lions. There is no case on record of any one being killed by these animals, but Lieut. Doane relates that when Truman C. Everts was lost (over a month) in the Park, in 1870, he was kept up a tree the greater part of a night by a "California lion." When he was found, a large lion was killed near him, and he said it had been following him for several days. He subsisted, by the way, on thistle-roots boiled in the hot pools.

Of these hot pools or springs, quiet or pulsating, the number in the Park is countless. At the Upper Basin alone there are twenty-six geysers—no two alike—and about 400 springs. Many of these springs are exquisitely colored, and hunting for the more beautiful ones will be one of the chief diversions when the Park has become a regular summer resort. The hurried tourists who do it in five to seven days see very few of them. Probably the loveliest of all is not even mentioned in the guide-books—the last large one of the group which lie to the left of the road going from the Grotto geyser to the Riverside. When the sun shines on it, the following colors and shades may be seen in the water and the margin and lining of the basin: orange, burnt-orange, olive brown, olive green, Nile green, apple green, emerald, cream, yellow-gray, indigo, glacier blue, blue-black, clear white, gray-white, brick-red, and golden ripples from the sunlight—sixteen in all. I suggest that it be called the Kaleidoscope.

The principal amusement of those who remain in the Park several weeks is, however, geyser-chasing. When I visited the Park the first time, thirteen years ago, I remained at the Upper Geyser Basin one day. On the second visit I remained three days, and this time nine days; yet even now there are two geysers—the Giantess and the Beehive—that I have failed to see in action. It is lucky for the hurried tourists that Old Faithful, which is one of the finest of the geysers, though less thrilling than the Giant, Castle, or Grand, plays regularly every sixty-five minutes. Were it not for this, most visitors would see only the smaller ones, like the Sawmill and the Spasmodic, in action, with perhaps the Riverside, which has an interval of six to eight hours. Though the Superintendent in his report annually recommends that the Park Association rebuild its hotel at the Upper Basin—the one point where a hotel is most wanted—it refuses to do so, and the passengers therefore have only five or six hours at the Upper Basin, and in the middle of the day too, when the big geysers are usually at rest. The Wylie passengers are better off, for they have two evenings and two mornings at this Basin, but they, too, are dependent on luck for a view of the Castle, Grand, or Giant, which are extremely irregular. The Castle and Grand may play several days in succession and then rest a week, while the Giant this year had an interval of seven to eight days.

As the Giant is the most sublime of them all, we made up our mind to see it if it took all summer. On Saturday afternoon, July 29, the guides saw indications of an impending eruption. In the evening, accordingly, a party of a dozen campers and others—including the family of the photographer of the Park, Mr. Haynes, who have a cabin at this place and never miss the Giant—started a bonfire and watched till 10:30. As it was then too dark to see much, even if there had been an eruption, we all went to our lodgings, fully expecting that the perverse thing would go off at night. But it did not play till 4:10 P. M. the next day. My wife and I were the only persons in the neighborhood at the time. It was extremely exciting to see the beginning—the water spurting up, first twenty feet, then fifty, then the full height, 250, at which it remained half an hour, while the eruption of water and steam lasted an hour longer. We set up a yell like wild Indians. It was taken up and repeated to the other end of the Basin, a mile away, and in a few minutes several dozen persons had hurried to the spot, on foot, on horseback, or in wagons, to witness the spectacle, which nothing but a volcano can equal in grandeur and beauty. The wind—an important factor—was just right for the proper commingling of steam and water, and the declining sun provided a rainbow background. Millions of gallons of water, and steam enough to run all the factories of Pennsylvania for a week, were shot into the air. The hot water tumbled in cascades into the Firehole River a few feet away, raising its level an inch or two. It is a river well named, for there are dozens of these fire-holes, large and small, on its banks.

There is evidence that many of the fire-holes in the Park have become extinct, but in geology a thousand years are as one year, and no one now living will see any serious diminution of activity in the geysers. A few years ago the Splendid ceased to play, but a new geyser, the Daisy, a few feet away, took its place. It spouts higher, I think, than it did three years ago; and the Splendid, too, had one short eruption this summer, and may come back. The Mammoth Hot Springs are less active on one side than they used to be, but more active on the other. Like the Paint Pots, they suffer during a drought, but revive after rain. The Mud Volcano, after a violent eruption which covered all the trees in the neighborhood, has become less active, and there have been some changes at Norris Basin. But Norris will probably have two new geysers soon, while the geysers at the Upper Basin have been more active this season than they had been for years. Conditions of rain and snow in the mountains, both in summer and winter, seem to affect them. Then there are phenomena that are only now being made accessible to tourists. New roads built within the last few years have opened one of the gruesome "Hoodoo" regions to regular inspection, and revealed the fine Gibbon River scenery with the queer Chocolate Springs. But the most important innovation since my last visit is the path down the Cañon, which has been constructed by Mr. Richardson at the Wylie

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Camp. He takes parties across the river in a boat, shows them the Cañon from the other side, which is the finer of the two views, and then, with the aid of rope and ladders, takes them down to the foot of the lower falls in perfect safety.

When we entered the Park, Capt. Brown had just left with his soldiers for China, and their place was being taken by Capt. Good's troops. This may explain why the formations were less carefully guarded than they used to be under Col. (now General) Young. Some campers told me their guns had been so carelessly sealed that they would have no trouble in using them. But what particularly surprised me was the sight of several loaded hay wagons coming from Hayden Valley. Capt. Chittenden says that this valley "is an important winter range for the Park buffalo and elk," and that "its preservation as a free winter pasturage is absolutely essential to the perpetuity of game in the Yellowstone Park." Is this grass to be taken away from the wild animals and given to the soldiers' horses?

HENRY T. FINCK.

# Correspondence.

## THE THIRD-PARTY MOVEMENT TOO LATE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with interest the varied correspondence published in the *Nation* upon the question, McKinley versus Bryan, and heartily concur with your several correspondents in their arraignments of both parties. The time seems already to have arrived when your suggestion is applicable, that "if the bosses have their way, voting will soon be reduced to a smelling match to see which egg offered to voters is the least addled."

Mr. James B. Nourse, in the *Nation* of September 13, thinks that when you advised voters to abstain from voting for McKinley, you ought to have gone further and advised voting for Bryan. In sustaining this view, Mr. Nourse catalogues some of the shortcomings of McKinley and his party, but fails to advance a single merit for Bryan and his following. For example, he refers to the heinousness of McKinley's high-tariff policy, but he fails to point to a single utterance of Bryan in opposition to it, or any expression in the Democratic platform favoring tariff reform.

You have very properly observed that the nomination of Mr. Caffery as a Presidential candidate by the "third party" affords relief to thousands of voters who have no stomach for voting for either of the other candidates. The only regret is, that such action was not taken at an earlier time, before the great mass of the voters had aligned themselves with one or the other of the two old parties. If the third-party agitation had been begun early in the campaign, and pushed with vigor, the result might have been to crystallize the movement into a political organization of sufficient importance to entitle it to a permanent place alongside the other two parties, and with potentialities for ultimate reform of existing political evils, of which there appears now to be no promise whatever.

T. G. D.

MISSISSIPPI, September 16, 1900.

## THE BRYAN CONVENTION AS A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The article by Poultney Bigelow, in the current *Contemporary Review*, describing the Bryan Convention at Kansas City, ought to attract the attention of every thinking man. That the vulgar boss at present rules in politics is, of course, merely an illustration of the old lesson that, whatever the form of government, the man of power rules. And in a democracy of average humanity the man of power is the one who can give what the most want, namely, the full dinner-pail and lessened hours of labor—*panem et circenses*. That Crokerism and Hannaism flourish more and more is a sign of the times wherein we but follow the evolution of the democracies of the past. The only possible salvation is that men in general may become so enlightened as to see that the boss is only a plunderer, and that the real guide to real betterment of economic conditions and of all other conditions is the scientific expert to whom all men will defer, just as they do now to the authority of the specialist in medicine. When practical economics and politics become branches of applied science, and rulers scientists, and voters scientific, we may see the social millennium towards which we strive.

HIRAM M. STANLEY.

LAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
September 21, 1900.

## AN UNHISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: When Mr. B. F. Stevens wrote the "Conclusion" which is printed in the twenty-fifth volume of his "Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-'83," he was able to cite a number of striking examples of discrepancy between manuscript originals and printed copies, as showing the importance to historical students of a photographic reproduction of documents, which trusts nothing to the discretion of editors or the accuracy of copyists and printers. A little later, Mr. Stevens might have illustrated his argument by an example of misdealing with his own 'Facsimiles.' It is furnished in the volume of the Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, October 18 and November 2, 1898. In an appendix to these Proceedings, seven of the Stevens Facsimiles are printed, wholly or partly, and three of the seven (Nos. 548, 549, and 1034; pp. 149, 150, and 151) are seriously misrepresented in what purports to be a literal reproduction.

In Facsimile 548, of a private letter, December 24, 1778, from Sir Henry Clinton to William Eden, who had been one of the Commissioners for restoring peace, the former, in a postscript, indicates some of his straitened circumstances thus:

"Our flower is out, a bread of peas, oatmeal & Indian corn may be made for six weeks longer, after that we literally starve. Cruel neglect. I can not flatter myself that G—— will return to us, nor that G. B. can replace that Corps, read Rebel Clinton's Correspondence with his Assembly, see what terrors the Indians spread, observe Ethan Allen's *Manifesto*, by the bye I send you a short discription of the Verdmont district, recollect its situation, what these people did against Burgoyne, what they can do for us, I need say no more, in short send an Army here, or reinforce Canada and leave the Coast of Atlantic to your fleet with troops sufficient for Expeditions." . . .

In the appendix to the Vermont Historical Society's volume (p. 149) there are four lines of what purports to be a quotation from this passage, as follows:

"Observe Ethan Allen *henceforth*, by the bye I send you a short description of the Vermont district, recollect its situation, what these people did against Burgoyne, what they can do for us."

Now, this volume of the Vermont Society's Proceedings is especially devoted to Ethan Allen. The body of it is mostly filled by an address on the Green Mountain hero, in which Gov. Clinton's proclamation of February, 1778, and Allen's rejoinder to it (the *manifesto* referred to in Sir Henry Clinton's letter, as cited above) are discussed at considerable length. It is that address, of course, which gives occasion for quoting from the documents in the "Facsimiles"; but observe how utterly meaningless and disconnected the quotation is made. Instead of bearing on past events, Sir Henry's remark is made prospective and deprived of sense.

But the next instance of misrepresentation is worse. Gen. Clinton's enclosure (Facsimile 549), the "Description of the District of Vermont," is given as being by William Smith, Chief Justice of New York, and as being dated 24 December, 1778, and as signed W. S. On what authority it is so attributed, signed, and dated does not appear. Certainly not on that of Mr. Stevens, nor on that of the Facsimile itself, which shows neither date nor signature, nor any mention of William Smith. But this is not the whole of the liberty which somebody has taken with the document. In the Facsimile, it ends with the words: "make their present expiring rebellion desperate." In what purports to be a reprint of it there are seven added lines, which prove to be a paragraph taken out of a letter written two years later (January 21, 1781) by Chief Justice William Smith, and grafted upon this document without an explanatory word.

The final instance is less serious, but claims attention. In Facsimile 1034 (p. 151) Gen. Sir Henry Clinton (to William Eden), 11 Dec., 1779, encloses extracts of letters from Gen. Washington to Major Talmadge 29 May, 13 and 27 June, 1779. This letter on the Facsimile is described in the usual way A. L. S.—autograph letter signed—but in the appendix it is given as A L 5. From it the Editor misquotes: "I enclose *some* correspondence with Major Talmadge by which you will see if we want good intelligence he has not better. It was found in the *Sergts* (?) pocket when taken." But the Facsimile reads: "I enclose *you W's* correspondence. . . . It was found in the *Majr's* pocket when taken." . . .

Sir Henry Clinton's writing, always bad and sometimes worse, is difficult to read; but, in this instance, "you W's" correspondence, "found in the Majr's pocket," is confirmed by the perfectly legible enclosure (Facsimile 1002), where, in the heading, "Extracts of Letters from Gen. Washington to Major Talmadge," the words "taken upon him" are added by the British General himself.

It seems proper to inquire whether the Vermont Historical Society approves of this manner of dealing with historical documents in the publications for which it is responsible? Presumably it does not; but there is evident room for improvement in the editorial supervision of its publications.

L.

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## THE MUSKALLONGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the kind review in the *Nation* (p. 217) of McCarthy's 'Familiar Fish,' the reviewer asks "whether it is true that the muskallonge is found in the upper Ohio valley." It is true. The writer has seen specimens from Chautauqua Lake. It was described as "Esox salmoneus," from the Ohio River, by Rafinesque in 1818, and as "Esox ohiensis" from Mahoning River in 1854 by Kirtland. It also occurs in Conneaut Lake.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CAL.,
September 18, 1900.

## GRAY'S LADDER OF ROPES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What was the exact nature of the practical joke that drove the poet Gray from Peterhouse to Pembroke Hall? The question is not very important in itself, but it possesses a certain curious interest, and its solution may throw some light on the rough-and-ready way in which literary biography is written. There is also a sentimental interest about it. No right-feeling person likes to think that Gray was ducked in a tub of water. There are brutalities enough in the social annals of the last century, in all conscience, and if this particularly stupid atrocity can be expunged from the records we ought to be thankful. Happily, it *can* be expunged, as what follows will prove beyond a reasonable doubt.

The vulgate text of the adventure may be given in the words of Mr. Leslie Stephen in the 'Dictionary of National Biography':

"In January, 1756, he ordered a rope-ladder from London. . . . Some noisy young gentlemen at Peterhouse placed a tub of water under his windows and raised an alarm of fire. Gray descended his ladder and found himself in the tub. . . . The authorities at Peterhouse treated the perpetrators of this ingenious practical joke more leniently than Gray desired. He thereupon moved to Pembroke."

For this form of the story Mr. Stephen cites Archibald Campbell's 'Sale of Authors,' and no other authority has ever been found. Mr. Gosse, in his Life of Gray in the "English Men of Letters," gives substantially the same account, but in greater detail and with a few vivid narrative touches. His authority is also Campbell, upon whom both he and Mr. Stephen seem to rely completely. One would infer from their way of speaking that Campbell's narrative bore manifest signs of trustworthiness. In fact, however, it bears signs of the opposite quality.

Archibald Campbell, whose 'Lexiphanes' is remembered because it is mentioned in Boswell's Johnson, published his 'Sale of Authors' anonymously in 1767. It is a dialogue in imitation of Lucian's 'Sale of Philosophers,' and is not lacking in rough humor. Apollo and Mercury, to pay off their debts, have resolved to dispose of a miscellaneous lot of authors at public auction. To collect the authors has been found somewhat difficult. Gray, in particular, was hard to catch. When he is produced before the bidders, he appears "wrapt up in a watchman's coat," and Mercury, the auctioneer, explains the strange sight as follows:

"You must know, having made many unsuccessful attempts to catch this great poet, I was at last obliged to have recourse to stratagem. Though he has a great deal of poetical fire, nobody indeed more, yet is he extremely afraid of culinary fire, and keeps constantly by him a ladder of ropes to guard against all accidents of that sort. Knowing this, I hired some watchmen to raise the alarm of fire below his windows. Immediately the windows were seen to open, and the poet descending in his shirt by his ladder. Thus we caught him at last, and one of the watchmen, to prevent his nerves being totally benumbed by frigorific torpor, lent him his great coat."

Campbell adds, in a footnote, a frank disclaimer, admitting that he knows nothing about the truth of the story: "The stories of the fire and the ladder, and silver tea-tongs, are reported, though perhaps they have no other foundation than what may justify a harmless pleasantry, in a work of this sort." The anecdote of the tea-tongs, which occurs elsewhere in the 'Sale,' is an absurd and indecent jest, intended to satirize the poet's fastidiousness. No biographer has thought it worth a moment's attention. Yet, for Campbell, it rested on the same authority as the tale of the fire and the ladder—that is, on no authority at all. He knew both stories as facetious anecdotes,* and reproduced them without vouching for them. Even Campbell had never heard of the tub and the ducking. There is not a word of it in the dialogue. It should be added that Campbell was a Scottish purser in the navy, and had no connections with the literary, social, and academic circles to which Gray belonged.

There is, however, a first-rate witness, whose testimony has been printed for many years, but has been systematically overlooked. This is the Rev. John Sharpe, who was a fellow of Corpus Christi College when the affair took place. In a letter of Mr. Sharpe's, dated March 12, 1756, and published in Nichol's 'Illustrations,' vol. vi., p. 805, we have the following paragraph:

"Mr. Gray, our elegant Poet, and delicate Fellow-Commoner of Peter-house, has just removed to Pembroke-hall, in resentment of some usage he met with at the former place. The case is much talked of, and is this. He is much afraid of fire, and was a great sufferer in Cornhill; he has ever since kept a ladder of ropes by him, soft as the silky cords by which Romeo ascended to his Juliet, and has had an iron machine fixed to his bedroom window. The other morning, Lord Percival and some Petrenchians, going a hunting, were determined to have a little sport before they set out, and thought it would be no bad diversion to make Gray bolt, as they called it, so ordered their man Joe Draper to roar out fire. A delicate white night-cap is said to have appeared at the window; but finding the mistake, retired again to the couch. The young fellows, had he descended, were determined, they said, to have whipped the butterfly up again."

Mr. Sharpe's letter was written only six days after the date (March 6) of Gray's admission to Pembroke. His account tallies with the hints in Gray's own letter of March 25 (to Wharton), with Mason's note in his 'Memoirs of Gray,' 1765, pp. 241-2, and with the MS. memoranda quoted in Wordsworth's 'Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 689.

The successive accretions to this simple anecdote are instructive. Gray rose and looked out of the window. Gray ran down the ladder in his night-gown. Gray fell into a tub of water at the foot of the ladder. Gray was chilled and had to be wrapped up in a watchman's coat. Gray was so overcome that he had to be "carried into the college by the friendly Stonehewer, who now appeared on the scene." The last touch, which brings in Gray's friend Stonehewer, as a *deus ex machina*, will be recognized as Mr. Gosse's. The suggestion for it is no doubt Gray's mention of Stonehewer as a witness to the "minute circumstances" which led to the quarrel with Peterhouse (letter to Wharton, March 25, 1755). *Crescit eundo.*

G. L. K.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., September 13, 1900.

*Compare, also, Walpole's letter to Mason, April 17, 1774, and Mason's reply, April 23.

## DATA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me to call attention to the increasing use of the word *data* as a singular noun. As an illustration, I quote the following sentence from an address delivered before the National Educational Association last July by a professor in the University of Pennsylvania:

"There has been a growing tendency to crowd chidren's minds with data about literature, in the evident belief that this data is in some mysterious way a training in literature."

A colleague informs me that, at a recent meeting of a leading scientific association, the expression "this data" was used almost exclusively in referring to tables of figures, groups of formulæ, etc.

FRED. NEWTON SCOTT.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, September 18, 1900.

# Notes.

In conjunction with Methuen & Co., London, G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish a series entitled "Library of Standard Literature," and consisting in large part of reprints of masterpieces; but it will also embrace works which have never been reprinted or have been long out of print, or printed in limited editions. Great pains will be bestowed on textual accuracy, and scholarly notes and introductions are promised. Poems of Spenser, Milton, Cowper, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson; Boswell's Johnson; Smith's 'Wealth of Nations'; Butler's 'Analogy'; Hobbes's 'Leviathan'; Carlyle's 'French Revolution'; Coleridge's 'Biographia Literaria'; Macaulay's 'Essays'; Thomas Ellwood's Diary; Chesterfield's Letters; Gibbon's Memoirs (edited by Dr. Birkbeck Hill), are some of the earlier announcements—all English save Paget Toynbee's Italian text of the 'Divine Comedy.'

The Messrs. Putnam's fuller fall list embraces the following titles, among others: the first volume of Gaillard Hunt's edition of the writings of James Madison, running to six or seven volumes, in style uniform with the same firm's Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, etc.; 'Roger Ludlow, the Colonial Lawmaker (1590-1664),' by John M. Taylor; 'History of the Scotch-Irish Families of America,' by Charles A. Hanna; 'Historic Towns of the Southern States,' edited by Lyman P. Powell; 'North Americans of Yesterday,' by Frederick S. Dellenbaugh; the second volume of Dr. Morgan Dix's 'History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York'; the third part of Blok's 'History of the People of the Netherlands'; a translation, by the Rev. L. H. Schwab, of Nippold's 'The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century'; the final four (of six) volumes, to

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be sold separately, of Louis Creswicke's 'South Africa and the Transvaal War'; 'George Selwyn; His Letters and his Life,' edited by E. S. Roscoe and Helen Clergue; 'Milton,' by Walter Raleigh; 'Daniel O'Connell and the Revival of National Life in Ireland,' by Robert Dunlop; 'The Rossettis, Dante Gabriel and Christina,' by Elisabeth Luther Cary; 'More Famous Homes of Great Britain, and their Stories,' edited by A. H. Selwyn; 'Four Great Venetians: Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese,' by Frank Preston Stearns; 'The Life and Times of Omar Khayyám,' by Prof. E. Denison Ross; 'The Dawn of Feminism: Studies of the Women of the Renaissance,' by R. de Maulde la Clavière; 'Care of the Consumptive,' by Dr. Charles Fox Gardiner; and 'The Revolver, and How to Use It,' by Walter Winans.

Harper & Bros. will publish during the autumn Mrs. Humphry Ward's 'Eleanor,' in two volumes, and 'Literary Friends and Acquaintance: A Personal Retrospect of American Authorship,' by William Dean Howells, richly illustrated.

Further announcements from Little, Brown & Co., Boston, are 'The Problem of Asia,' by Capt. A. T. Mahan; 'In South Africa with Buller,' by Capt. George Clarke Musgrave; 'The Hidden Servants,' old stories told again by Francesca Alexander; and 'In and Around the Grand Canyon,' by George Wharton James, with thirty full-page plates and seventy illustrations in the text.

FitzGerald's 'Rubáiyát' is once more to be luxuriously got up, this time by the Nevernod Press of Boone, Iowa, in a square octavo, of which only 250 copies will be printed.

Henry George, jr.'s, Life of his father; 'A Woman Tenderfoot,' by Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson; 'The Autobiography of a Tomboy,' by Miss Jeannette L. Gilder; and 'On the Wing of Occasion,' stories of civil-war time, by Joel Chandler Harris, who bids good-bye to journalism, are to be published by Doubleday, Page & Co.

The Century Co. will issue in October Richard Whiteing's 'Paris of To-day,' with André Castaigne's illustrations; 'Colonial Days and Ways,' by Helen Evertson Smith, with illustrations by Harry Fenn; 'Bread Line,' a story of journalistic endeavor, by Albert Bigelow Paine; and 'My Winter Garden [on the Gulf of Mexico],' by Maurice Thompson.

Nearly ready from E. P. Dutton & Co. are the 'Letters of Thomas Edward Brown.'

A Dante Calendar, with specially translated passages, and decorations by the hand of Blanche McManus, printed in three colors, is forthcoming from Edwin S. Gorham, Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street, New York.

Further information requires that we should add something to our recent brief notice of 'The Memoirs of the Baroness Cécile de Courtot' (Holt). This work was confessedly a modern patchwork based upon old letters and an old journal, but "edited" freely by Moritz von Kaisenberg, in whose family the papers had come down. We have recently learned that, while Herr von Kaisenberg maintains the authenticity of his documents, he introduced the character of the Vicomte de Trellissac out of his own imagination. The matter is discussed in a series of letters published by the London *Times* (see particularly under date May 5, 1900). Herr von Kaisenberg, in a letter to Mr. Heinemann, asserts that "he has conscientiously used his sources, and protests that no historian who has not at the same time been an eye-witness can do more." He gives the full name of his heroine, Cécile Élisabeth de Cissiy, and also of her family, Courtot de Cissiy. Her brother, he says, was Bishop of Auxerre. On the other hand, Lady Blennerhassett calls the piece a "barefaced forgery." In so far as our word of criticism was favorable, it rested upon a certain quality of readableness which the volume has.

The punctual autumn overflow of reprints, at reduced prices or in more ornamented guise, or with some other fresh lure for the book-lover, has begun in force. In the first category are Frederic Harrison's 'The Meaning of History, and Other Historical Pieces,' Farrar's 'Life of Christ as Represented in Art,' and (in a single volume) the 'Letters of Matthew Arnold'—all from Macmillan. The letters, if disappointing as a whole, contain much food for thought. Our eye lights, in 1870, on this characterization of Lord Salisbury: "He is a dangerous man, though, and chiefly from his want of any true sense and experience of literature and its beneficent function. Religion he knows, and physical science he knows; but the immense work between the two, which is for literature to accomplish, he knows nothing of." And this regards the Italians: "Their real danger is, that their upper and richer class is so formed on the model of the upper and richer class in France, corrupted like them, and likely to prove, when any pinch comes, enervated, too, like them. . . . I am inclined to believe in a fund of virtue, and consequently of strength, somewhere or other in the great mass of the French nation, more than in that of the Italian."

From the same house come two volumes of five of Lockhart's 'Life of Scott' in the admirable "Library of English Classics." In these Mr. A. W. Pollard packs the ten of the edition of 1839, and rescues from the abridgment of 1848 whatever Lockhart might have originally incorporated in the full work. We could wish that a biography whose interest owes little to the constructive powers of the author had been printed in a more helpful manner by distinction of type between text and extract. Perhaps (in view of the generous type here used) five volumes might have become four, and yet been made more readable.

In the output of the Dent-Macmillan pocket "Temple Classics," Caxton's 'Golden Legend' proceeds with volumes 3 and 4, while Macaulay's 'Essays' are begun, and we have Hazlitt's 'Lectures on the English Comic Writers' in one volume, Gulliver in one (with twelve illustrations by A. Rackham), Milton's 'Areopagitica, and Other Tracts' in one, supervised by Professor Vaughan with "special attention to the hitherto somewhat neglected matter of the right paragraphing of Milton's prose." But what is noticeable here is the number of paragraphs beginning with "And."

Stevenson's 'Treasure Island' is clothed anew by Charles Scribner's Sons, and furnished with capital illustrations by Wal Paget. Best of all, these are actually cut on wood, and hence the paper is a dull white without a glaze. What a relief it is from the everlasting "process" and its blinding sheen.

The handsome third volume of the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston) covers the transactions for the years 1895-'97, but in continuation of volume i.; volume ii., not yet ready, having been reserved for the Commissions and Instructions of the Royal Governors of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. A large number of obituaries of deceased members—Dr. B. A. Gould, Martin Brimmer, John F. Andrew, and Edward Wigglesworth, to cite those of whom portraits are furnished—constitute a marked feature. We specify, among many interesting and valuable papers, Mr. John Noble's, on the trial and punishment of crime in colonial and provincial times, and Mr. A. P. C. Griffin's bibliography of the historical publications of the New England States. We have already mentioned Mr. Albert Matthews's discussion of the origin of the Americanism "campus." There is a full index, prepared by Miss Elizabeth H. Connolly. Evidently, we have in this flourishing Society the source of a very superior quality of historic production.

The Royal Historical Society, London, has just issued a volume that will interest those who would learn more of the expedition which Cromwell sent to the West Indies against the Spanish possessions, and which resulted in the conquest of Jamaica, after a dismal failure at San Domingo. The editor of the volume in question is Mr. Charles Harding Firth, author of the Life of Cromwell lately reviewed in these columns. Along with the 'Narrative' of General Venables Mr. Firth has published numerous papers bearing upon the expedition. Every document is elaborately annotated, and the editor has written a preface full of interest. There is much truth in the concise saying of Mrs. Venables, wife of the General: "A wicked army it was, and sent out without arms and provisions." For want of other food, the soldiers had to eat dogs, horses, and mules, thus anticipating, by two centuries and a half, the experiences of British troops in South Africa. Besides the want of arms and provisions, the expedition suffered from the lack of coöperation between Venables and Sir William Penn, the Admiral. Cromwell rightly sent them both to the Tower, on their return to England, and would not reëmploy either of them in the public service. Once in possession of Jamaica, Cromwell determined to keep and to colonize it. Of the efforts to induce colonists from New England to settle there, and of other measures for the retention of the island, Mr. Firth has given a succinct and admirable account in his Life of the Protector, in a chapter devoted to "Cromwell's Colonial Policy."

The special feature of the September Bulletin of the Boston Public Library is a list of text-books at present used in the public schools of the city. These five hundred titles on a multiplicity of subjects, many of them of books for the younger scholars, forcibly suggest the question whether our educational system is not putting the mere acquisition of knowledge too far above the training of the mental powers.

The *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington) for August contains as its principal article an illustrated account of the Colorado Desert by D. P. Barrows. Among the other contents are a description of the work of Charles Hose in Borneo, a reply to Professor Heilprin's assertions in regard to an assumed recent decline of the level of Lake Nicaragua, and a notice of Henry Gannett's report on the Forest Re-

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serves of the United States, with a map. There is also a large-scale War Department map of northeastern China, including the coast as far south as Shanghai, which will be much prized.

Three articles, at least, distinguish the October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Two are but begun, the first being a noticeably agreeable "Life of Margaret Shippen, Wife of Benedict Arnold," by Lewis Burd Walker, accompanied by a pencil-sketch of her and her astonishing headdress, made by Major André. The second is a contribution to the history of lithography in this country, being a sketch of the career of Albert Newsam, a deaf-mute who practised the art in Philadelphia. The list of his portraits executed on stone is to be continued. The third feature is a facsimile of the entire No. 2 of Franklin's short-lived *Philadelphische Zeitung* (June 24, 1732). Eye of antiquarian had not seen a copy of this paper till, "by the merest accident," the Rev. Amos Stapleton of Carlisle, Pa., discovered this second number "among some old deeds during one of his ministerial journeys," and secured it for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The account of the silk industry of Lyons in the *Consular Reports* for September is suggestive as showing the progress of industrial education. There are two institutions for teaching silk manufacture: the commercial school for foreigners, numbering generally from 250 to 300, and the municipal school for Lyonnese youth, with 300 to 400 pupils. Here everything is taught, from the "breeding of the silk-worm to the weaving of the finest stuffs for wearing, upholstering, mural decoration, and artistic embroidery." It is a significant fact that, in the commercial school, "some of the machinery bears the mark of a Philadelphia or Paterson manufacturer." Though there is a steady annual increase of the business, the proportion of raw silk raised in France is rapidly diminishing, as the land can be used more profitably for vineyards, orchards, and vegetable gardens than for raising cocoons. The cosmopolitan character of the industry is shown in the names given to the various tints, as, Cuba, Colorado, Manila, Khartum, etc. "In a book of sample colors containing nearly one thousand distinct tones, one is denominated 'Hobson.' It is a clear, bright blue, with a score of finely graded tints."

The bibliography of the geographical literature of the year 1899, published as the September number of the *Annales de Géographie*, includes the titles of 962 publications, articles in journals, proceedings of societies, and Government documents. The descriptive notes, prepared by experts of different nationalities, are explanatory and critical, and often contain valuable information. In point of number of titles, the United States leads all other countries. The apparent tendency is to broaden the scope of the work by including some publications not strictly geographical, but relating to the allied sciences of zoölogy, mineralogy, botany, etc. It is questionable, however, whether it is wise thus to increase the size of the volume, and hence to diminish ease of reference. The index contains the names of authors and travellers.

—There are books enough and to spare for whose existence it is hard to guess the reason, but one can account for most of them more readily than for Mr. C. F. Carter's 'The Wedding-Day in Literature and Art' (Dodd, Mead & Co.). Mr. Carter, finding that "not more than one hundred and eighty paintings in Europe and America have as theme incidents of the wedding-day," has thought it worth his while to gather the choicest wedding-day masterpieces of painter, poet, and novelist, to enrich them with reproductions of appropriate paintings, and to set off the whole with a cover tastefully ornamented with orange blossoms. Now the death of Ajax is one of the finest things in the Greek drama, but it is generally agreed that Sophocles erred when he added the details of the funeral. Possibly it is a perception of the same risk of anti-climax that has inspired novelists with that wariness in avoiding the incidents of the wedding-day which Mr. Carter laments. Decidedly, the emotional pitch is lowered over the discussion of the presents and of routes for the wedding-tour; and some slight assurance that the hero and heroine actually "married and lived happily ever after" is enough for most readers. At any rate, a collection such as this is very dull reading. With the amiable desire that "those who cannot or will not marry may at least contemplate the conjugal felicity of others from as many points of view as possible," Mr. Carter offers his dejected and recalcitrant readers no less than eighty descriptions of the trials of wedding festivities. We imagine that the impression on the ordinary mind is likely to be, if anything, strongly deterrent from such an ordeal. In any case, the literary value of such extracts, taken apart from their context, is of the slightest.

—One result of the Indian mutiny was the convincing of the Mohammedans that the very existence of their religion was endangered by this overthrow of the masses of believers, who seemed to have every advantage on their side, by a handful of unbelievers. To save Mohammedanism became from that time the engrossing aim of many of the followers of the Prophet—that for which they are now straining every nerve, or, to use their own words, "breaking their lives to bits." They early recognized the vital importance of educating men to meet the assaults on Islam by rival faiths. With this end in view, they founded in 1866, at Deoband, in the Northwestern Provinces, an Arabic College which is already justifying a claim to rank in importance with those of Cairo, Tunis, and Kairuan. From an account of this institution in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (London) for August, it appears that the government is vested in a manager and a board of councillors, ten in number, residing in different parts of India. The teaching staff consists of eighteen professors, with salaries ranging from five to fifty rupees a month. The course is eight years, and there are twenty-one classes in the following subjects: Etymology, syntax, rhetoric, prosody, Arabic literature, logic, philosophy, geometry, astronomy, algebra, mensuration, medicine (the so-called Greek system in vogue in India among native doctors), controversy, theology, theory and practice of Mohammedan law, the traditions, and commentaries on the Koran. Every student goes through the whole course, and on graduation is presented with a turban and a diploma, in which he is certified to be a Maulvi, or Moslem Doctor of Divinity. At the close of 1898 there were 239 students, mostly from India, though some came from Central Asia and Siam—all men of mature age, thirty-five to forty. "Not a few are Maulvis in their own land, who have come here to perfect their studies." About half were supported by their relatives and friends, others by scholarships, prizes, and the college funds. "Foreign students are fed systematically by the people of certain streets in Deoband. The food is collected by local headmen, helped by volunteers, and portioned out at various mosques. Those so provided for now number forty-four." To secure this help the student must have attained a certain standard, and the aid ceases should he become negligent. The library contains a large collection of good books, housed in three rooms and neatly arranged. The funds are raised chiefly by annual subscriptions; the receipts for the year 1897-'98 having been nearly ten thousand rupees. The graduates, all orthodox Mohammedans of the most rigid and antiquated type, number some five hundred, and are scattered throughout India, as incumbents of mosques, private chaplains, and in other occupations. Many wander about begging their bread, and the fact that this education does not "fit men for the world's work" is beginning to impress itself on the people. There is already a widespread desire among Moslems that the preparatory school attached to the college should be in part industrial, or give instruction on the new Western lines. Such changes have been successfully resisted thus far, as destructive of the end for which the college was established.

—Similar to the pompous titles peculiar to the Byzantine Empire, but going far beyond any of them, is one, dating from a somewhat remote period, still kept up in certain parts of India. Its correct Sanskrit form, from which its modernization differs solely by terminating in *j* instead of *ja*, is *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, "supreme being (*adhirâja*) of great kings." In English official phraseology, however, it ordinarily figures as *Maharaj-Dhiraj*, not unlike which, only that *Dhiraj* has no meaning whatever, would be *Constantin-Politan* for *Constantinopolitan*. If, then, a well-known Hindoo title has been popularly dealt with as above, slight is the wonder that Indian proper names should occasionally be metamorphosed past all recognition. And this fate has befallen the name of the energetic Asiatic who, from the days of Orme onward, has been designated, in the pages of scores of writers, as Omichund. So the victim of Clive's unscrupulousness is styled even by the Orientalist Professor H. H. Wilson, who, besides, tacitly agrees with all his predecessors in assuming that he was a Hindoo. Following in the beaten track, Lord Macaulay represents him as such in faith, and attributes to him "in large measure. . . . the Hindoo vices, servility, greediness, and treachery." Adopting, again, the established view, the distinguished essayist has it that he was of a race his characterization of which has sullied his reputation for justice in the eyes of thousands whose ancestors, when he was serving in Bengal, had he understood them, he could not but have esteemed. We refer, of course, to the cruel libel: "What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate

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tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the lower Ganges." Only as good rhetoric, misapplied, can this if be accepted. Of no religionists, regarded as a class, and of no community, its religion left unconsidered, can this description be verified. With the writer of this note, after having divided upwards of half a century, as a resident, between India and Great Britain, it is a settled conviction that on no ground have the generality of Hindoos, Bengalees included, a less substantial title to respect than have the generality of Englishmen, and that the former could give the latter no points in matters of practical heathenism. To return to the so-called Omichund, though his name has appeared, in some very recent books, as Oomachurun or Umâcharan, and also as Umeenchund or Amînchand, it is, at last, irrefragably demonstrated that it was Amîrchand, or, in common spelling, Umeerchund. Documents still preserved in the archives of the High Court of Calcutta evidence, farther, that he was a Sikh, a follower of the heresiarch Nanak, and, therefore, was as little a Hindoo as a Mormon is a Christian. Nor was he a Bengalee, but a native of the Punjab, domiciled at Calcutta, where he accumulated an immense fortune. For these discoveries we are indebted to an article by Baboo Saradachurun Mitra, translated in an enterprising Calcutta weekly, *Reis and Rayyet*, a journal which merits a much wider popularity than it has hitherto achieved.

## GOWER.

*The Complete Works of John Gower.* Edited from the manuscripts, with introductions, notes, and glossaries, by G. C. Macaulay. Vol. I. The French Works. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.

John Gower has long been classified as a literary "worthy" of a well-recognized type—as a person, that is to say, whose importance in literary history is considerable, though his talents were of a humble order. This position is due not merely to Gower's relations with Chaucer (though these are interesting enough if they could only be made out to one's satisfaction), nor to his trilingual productivity (though that has much significance for the student), nor yet to the reputation which he enjoyed in his own time, and which persisted for centuries as a fact and for other centuries as a tradition. It is due rather to his representative character. He is the embodiment of Middle English respectability in literature. He had all the qualities which make up a comfortable conservatism. He had received a first-rate conventional education, he possessed a sufficient estate, his leisure was abundant, and he liked to moralize. Add to these advantages two others—a clear and fluent style and a complete lack of imagination—and you have no despicable equipment for a man who is to put on record the social, moral, and religious conventionalities of his age. "The powers that be are ordained of God" was a text which Gower took very literally. This is an evil world, to be sure, and it grows worse and worse every day. Meantime, since we cannot improve it, we must take care to be virtuous ourselves, and above all things to discourage innovation, which can never be improvement.

It has been said that Englishmen like to read things that bore them, and the former popularity of the *Rambler* and 'Rasselas' is often cited to prove this dictum. One is sometimes tempted to add the 'Confessio Amantis' to the list. But, on the whole, this would be hardly just. The 'Confessio' is pretty dull, but it can be read. Besides, it contains many good stories—some of the best that people know—though they are told with an exasperating monotony, and with little conception of their good points.

A real edition of Gower has long been a desideratum. In 1857, Dr. Reinhold Pauli published the 'Confessio Amantis' in three handsome volumes, beautifully printed. The title-page declares that the poem is "edited and collated with the best manuscripts," but the words are very misleading. Dr. Pauli was a respectable historian, but his knowledge of Middle English was far from exact, nor is it clear that he had any just conception of his editorial duties. Indeed, it was almost a literary crime to intrust this particular task to his hands. The text which he produced is well known to be utterly untrustworthy, every page swarming with linguistic monstrosities. The alleged "collation," so far from benefiting the work, gave the finishing touches to its deformity. The baffled student never knows when the editor is following this or that manuscript, or when he is emending in accordance with his own strange ideas of English morphology. In a word, Pauli gave neither a good eclectic text nor a diplomatic copy of a single manuscript. His edition has no variants, no notes, and no glossarial references. Bad as it is, however, it filled the market, and for forty years has stood square in the way of anything better. Professor Morley's one-volume edition in the "Carisbrooke Library" has even less scientific consequence than the Pauli.

The 'Vox Clamantis,' Gower's Latin poem, was edited by Mr. Coxe for the Roxburgh Club—that is, it was not published at all. Copies have always been very hard to get and prices prohibitive. A few French poems were made accessible by Professor Stengel in his 'Ausgaben und Abhandlungen.' The 'Speculum Meditantis' no man had ever seen.

Such was the condition of "Gower philology" when Mr. Macaulay made his surprising discovery in 1895—a lucky accident to which we owe the present edition of the Complete Works. Mr. Macaulay was convinced that if Gower's lost 'Speculum Meditantis' should ever turn up, the title would prove to be 'Speculum Hominis.' "Meditantis," he believed, was an afterthought, intended to make a jingle with 'Confessio Amantis' and 'Vox Clamantis.' He chanced to mention his opinion to Mr. Jenkinson, of the Cambridge University Library, who at once put into his hands an anonymous "Mirour de l'Omme," a manuscript which he had lately given to the Library. It did not take Mr. Macaulay long to decide that here was Gower's lost work. The evidence, which the reader may find in the Introduction, is conclusive, and we are now in possession of all three of the large books on which the poet's head rests in his effigy in St. Saviour's Church.

Mr. Macaulay's discovery brought heavy duties with it. The Delegates of the Clarendon Press, when approached with a proposal for a new edition of the 'Confessio Amantis,' agreed, on condition that he would undertake the complete works, including the new-found 'Speculum.' This was a little disquieting, for the 'Speculum,' even in its slightly mutilated form, contains thirty thousand lines, and is of a dulness almost beyond example. Fortunately, Mr. Macaulay had courage, and volume i. is now before us, a monument alike to the skill and patience of the editor, and to the liberal spirit of the great publishing establishment which has deserved so well of scholars for so many years. The whole work will consist of four volumes, uniform with Professor Skeat's "Oxford Chaucer." Volume i. contains the French Works—that is, besides the 'Mirour de l'Omme,' the 'Cinkante Balades' and the 'Traitié pour essampler les Amantz marietz,' short documents of considerable interest. The English works (principally the 'Confessio Amantis') will occupy volumes ii. and iii., and the Latin works volume iv. We are informed that the second and third volumes are in the press.

The 'Mirour de l'Omme' is one of the most portentous products of the mediæval disease of allegory. It exemplifies the symptoms of that disorder to an unusual degree, for its monstrous size brings out every feature and presents it to the observer magnified many diameters. The plan is to a considerable extent traditional, but apparently owes something to the author's power of combination. Childish enough to modern eyes, the plot is not without ingenuity, and might have been susceptible of impressive treatment in other hands. Gower's prolix tediousness, however, together with the aridity of his didactics and the drone of his monotonous versification, thwarts the design completely. The mind refuses to keep awake for more than a page at a time. We get no sharper impression of the whole than the Northern farmer got of the parson's sermons.

The poem falls into three divisions of unequal length, which we may call the "Cause," the "Condition," and the "Remedy." Only the first division is allegorical in the fullest sense, but the remainder of the work is, nevertheless, permeated with the allegorical spirit and framed in the allegorical manner. The first division expounds the causes which have brought mankind to its present deplorable state. Though it extends to more than 18,000 lines, it is, in effect, only an expansion and development of a single verse in the Bible—the same which Milton afterwards used in so different a spirit as the basis of his allegory of Sin and Death.

The Devil conceived and brought forth Sin "of his own malice." From his incestuous union with her, Death was born, and then, the mother marrying the son, there came into existence the Seven Deadly Sins. Delighting in his progeny, the Devil sent them to the World, who fell completely under their influence — making Wrath his *guerroier* (which one is tempted to translate by "warlord"), Avarice his treasurer, Gluttony his master-butler, and Lechery his *chiere amie*. The Devil, not satisfied with procuring the Fall of Man, wished to effect his final damnation. He had brought man down from Paradise to Earth, he desired to bring him down from Earth to Hell. Accordingly, he held a parliament, attended by Sin and her seven sons, by the World, and by Death, at which a plan was laid for Man's utter destruction. Many promises were made to Man by the World and Sin and the Devil, and his Flesh consented to

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be the Devil's vassal and did homage accordingly. But the Soul refused, and upbraided the Flesh, warning her solemnly to beware of Death, who, it appears, had been hidden away by the conspirators. Reason and Fear came to the Soul's aid, and Fear guided the Flesh to the secret chamber where Death lurked. When the Flesh saw this horrible creature she was in consternation, and could never get him out of her mind, so that at last she renounced the World and became reconciled with the Soul. It looked, therefore, as if the Devil's plots had come to naught.

Up to this point, a certain power cannot be denied to the 'Mirour de l'Omme.' The allegory is simple enough to be followed readily, and the conception does not lack impressiveness. Above all, Gower has not yet succumbed to the sin of prolixity that so easily besets him. He gets through the events here summarized in seven hundred and fifty lines—not an unreasonable number—and his narrative has movement and is not much clogged by prosing. His style, which is always neat and often not deficient in point, is well adapted to what he has to tell, and the solemnity of the subject is congenial to his temper. It would not be hard to designate a number of stanzas that take respectable rank in mediæval didactic poetry, and a few that are fit to be compared with the lines on Death in the 'Confessio Amantis'—probably the best passage to be found in his voluminous writings. We may instance the strophe in which Fear takes the Flesh by the hand and leads her to the secret chamber where Death, "l'orrible capitein," lies all alone—

> "En aguaitant la Char humain,
> Quelle est sa proie natural." (Vv. 709-20.)

With the completion of the first 750 verses, however, begins a barren wilderness of allegory in which the reader soon loses himself, and from which he will never emerge unless he has uncommon powers of endurance. The Devil, unabashed by his temporary rebuff, soon devises a means to regain possession of Man and to accomplish his subjugation. He arranges a marriage between the World and each of the Deadly Sins. The fruits of the sevenfold union are a goodly family of vices; for each Sin bears to the World five daughters. This gives us thirty-five particular Vices, such as—to take the children of Pride as examples—Hypocrisy, Vainglory, Surquidry, Boasting, and Disobedience—each of whom has to be described at considerable length. Other personifications come in subsidiarily. Thus, Disobedience has various servants, Despite, Disdain, "Danger" (the famous personage of the 'Roman de la Rose'), Murmuring, Rebellion, and so on, whose characters must also be set forth. No wonder, therefore, that the next real event in the story is not reached for thousands and thousands of wearisome lines. No wonder, either, that Man is taken prisoner by the powers of the Devil, and that Reason and Conscience find it necessary to call for divine interposition. God had seven daughters, the Virtues, and these he gave in marriage to Reason that the seven Deadly Sins and their offspring might not fail of opponents. To each of the Virtues were born five daughters, whose qualities are duly expounded, with a careful explication of their offices as set-offs to the thirty-five Vices. The "valued file" of good and bad qualities fills between seventeen and eighteen thousand verses. When it comes to an end at last, the first part of the 'Mirour,' which we have called the "Cause," is concluded. The reasons for the present condition of mankind have been schematically catalogued. There is continual warfare between the Vices and the Virtues, we are told, but, if one contemplates all classes of human society, it is evident that the evil forces have the upper hand. Long before this point, of course, the narrative, which began with some spirit, has been completely swamped, and there is no pretence of bringing it to a satisfying conclusion.

Having accounted for the evil that is in the world, Gower proceeds to an exhaustive scrutiny of all sorts and conditions of men, with a view to determining what the moral status of humanity actually is. This division of the 'Mirour,' which we may call "The Condition," contains about 8,000 verses. Beginning with the Roman curia, Gower works his way down through all the orders of the Church, convicting everybody of worldliness and corruption, from cardinals to *clergons*, or candidates for orders—divinity students, as one may call them. His accusations spare neither the secular nor the regular clergy, but the begging friars come in for a rather large share of uncompromising censure. The rulers of the world are next passed in review, emperors, kings, and great lords. Then come the military class, the lawyers and officers of justice, the merchants, the handicraftsmen, the victuallers, the tradesmen, the laborers—all as bad as they can be and growing worse every day.

There is much curious material for the student of manners and customs in this part of the poem. Priests wear long knives at their girdles, with which it is presumed that they do not expect to make war on the Devil. Knights cross the sea to Prussia or Tartary, to do battle with the heathen—some for glory, some for love of their ladies, only a few for the kingdom of God. Drapers sell their cloth in dark shops, where you can't tell green from blue. Jewellers take in the King himself with their false gems. Physicians and apothecaries conspire to keep the patient sick and to roll up their accounts against him. The innkeeper draws ten kinds of wine from the same cask for the city dames who visit the tavern early, before they go to church or market. Laborers are no longer content with bean-bread and water for ordinary fare and with milk and cheese for festivals—it is easier nowadays to satisfy two lords than one peasant. Much illustration of Chaucer may be gleaned from this part of the 'Mirour.' Mr. Macaulay has noted several such things, but by no means all. One which he omits to mention is the light which Gower's denunciation of the *gens du loy* (p. 271) throws on Chaucer's man of law. "So gret a purchasour was nowher non" has usually been interpreted as meaning that Chaucer's lawyer was a skilful conveyancer. The words of Gower make it plain that the line alludes rather to the proverbial fondness of the lawyers of old times for investing in land and becoming country gentlemen.

Having proved that the world is very bad and that it is deteriorating daily, the poet rather unnecessarily demonstrates, in a thousand verses, that all this evil comes from the sinfulness of man. The "Remedy," then, is that man shall turn to God, and this is to be done through the mediation of Our Lady. This third part of the 'Mirour' consists in the history of the Virgin, into which an account of the life of Christ is inserted. There is nothing to distinguish all this from countless mediæval works of devotion except the unfaltering neatness of the style. The manuscript is incomplete at the end, but an old table of contents assures us that but little is lost.

The 'Cinkante Balades' and the 'Traité' need no such particular description as the 'Mirour,' for they were long ago made accessible by Prof. Stengel. Every book has its unintended joke. Mr. Macaulay cracks *his* in speaking of Stengel's edition. He refers to this as "published under the name of Dr. Edmund Stengel" (p. lxxviii), adding, "The preface is signed with the initials D. H." Obviously he imagines that D. H. are the initials of the real editor and that Dr. Stengel is, for this occasion, a *nominis umbra*. But, as our readers will immediately see, the mystic letters "D. H., simply mean "The Editor" *(Der Herausgeber), i. e.*, of course, Dr. Stengel, and there is no jackal or *Doppelgänger* involved.

Mr. Macaulay has discharged his editorial duties in an extremely creditable manner. The Introduction gives a good account of the contents of the several poems, discusses the manuscripts, and includes an intelligent — though not an exhaustive — treatment of Gower's French, which naturally presents many points of great interest to linguists. The notes are careful and learned, and they do not slur over difficulties which the editor is not quite sure of. Great pains have been taken to compare passages in the 'Mirour' with parallels in the admitted works of Gower, and these are numerous and close enough to convince any skeptic who still doubts after reading the introduction.

A word must be said of Mr. Macaulay's discussion of Gower's French. This is in general well conducted and brings out the main facts, which is all that it professes to attempt. Yet the editor shows a certain lack of clearness in his conception of the history of the French language in England which sometimes thwarts his presentation of the phenomena that he has observed. He has a distinct tendency to overlook the difference between a learned and more or less artificial literary language and a popular dialect. Provided these two things are kept distinct in the mind, it is of slight consequence what name or names are applied to English French; but it must be observed that the nomenclature preferred by Mr. Macaulay is peculiarly well adapted to obliterate the esssential distinction between them. In Gower's time there were at least two kinds of English French—one the direct, popularly developed continuation of the old Anglo-Norman; the other a foreign language, learned as an elegant accomplishment, and in no sense the mother-tongue of those who used it. This second variety was not a descendant of the old Anglo-Norman; it was the attempt of well-educated Englishmen to speak and write the French of France. Gower, then, wrote as good Continental French as he could, and Mr. Macaulay's statement that "he uses the same (or nearly the same) Anglo-Norman dialect" as writers like Pierre de Langtoft and William of Waddington is incorrect. Naturally Gower's French had a decided Anglo-Nor-

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man coloring—there are many reasons why that was inevitable; but such a coloring does not make it a descendant of vernacular Anglo-Norman. Indeed, some of the forms which Mr. Macaulay regards as Anglo-Norman were common enough in Continental French. Thus he discusses the *-our* and *-ous* endings as if they were exclusively Anglo-Norman, as opposed to Continental French *-eur* and *-eus*. But the Reclus de Moiliens, with whose writings Gower was almost certainly acquainted, exhibits practically the same usage as to *-our* and *-ous* that we observe in the 'Mirour'; and if we look at Continental authors contemporary with Gower, or nearly so, we find that such endings are by no means unknown in Froissart, while Christine de Pisan and Eustache Deschamps have rhymes of interest in this regard.

A similar confusion between learned and popular words vitiates much of what Mr. Macaulay says in his rather magisterial paragraph on the treatment of French by English etymologists. He has an important principle at heart, but he misses its relation to another principle of equal importance. We do not wish to insist on such matters, however, lest we should seem to depreciate the editor's work. He does not profess to treat the subject exhaustively, nor could such treatment be expected in an *editio princeps*. Though Gower's French remains a subject requiring careful investigation—which it will abundantly repay—yet Mr. Macaulay's introduction deserves and will receive the approval of scholars in its main features. The Glossary undertakes to give not a mere selection of obsolete or unusual words, but a complete catalogue of Gower's French vocabulary. It is a valuable adjunct to the text and a substantial contribution to lexicography.

"Moral Gower" has waited long for an editor, but he has found a competent man at last. We look forward to the remaining volumes with confident expectation.

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*A History of the Spanish-American War of 1898.* By Richard H. Titherington. With Diagrams and Index. D. Appleton & Co. 1900.

This history originally appeared as a magazine serial, but has, in the course of republication, been revised. It is a rival of Mr. Lodge's narrative, which the author calls "brilliant, but highly inaccurate," and is the result of a painstaking effort to review the facts of the conflict. So far as the facts are not involved in controversy, the author succeeds very well, and his book is, on the whole, the best résumé of the matter which we have seen. But he is no critic; and, perhaps because of his colorless way of dealing with the story, is open to the charge of not making it interesting. We have neither rhetoric nor settlement of points in dispute. For instance, there is the celebrated San Juan affair, discussed in chapter xii. The account seems very impartial, but we get no clearer idea of what part the Rough Riders played in it than we do from Col. Roosevelt himself. Of Shafter's reasons for changing his mind about withdrawing from Santiago, we learn nothing clear, though the author speaks highly of the General. So he does of Mr. Alger, though he admits that that gentleman did not prove "the rare and brilliant organizer who alone could have cut the obstructive red tape, and met the overwhelming needs of the service." The narrative of the explosion of the *Maine* is such as to suggest strongly the belief in the author's mind that there was at least room in the evidence for the theory that the disaster was due to internal causes; in the calm light of history a variety of circumstances tend to throw doubt on the value of the *Maine* report (itself entirely *ex parte* so far as Spain was concerned). When Spain suggested an international inquiry by experts, offering to abide by the result in advance, whatever it might be, President McKinley reported the offer to Congress, adding that he had made no reply to it. Why? Because the case was perfectly clear? Apparently not, to judge by what Mr. Titherington has to say.

What brought on the war? The author goes back to the case of the *Virginius* to ascertain; but that case, which had arisen in 1873, had been settled and forgotten when the war broke out. In his narrative of the *Virginius* affair, by the way, the guarded statement is made that the vessel claimed "a somewhat questionable American registry." The vessel's papers were fraudulent, and she had no right to fly the American flag. In this part of the book the author has fallen into the common error of failing to distinguish between the chain of events which led to the war and the *responsibility* for it. Any one can point to a multitude of events, from the landing of Columbus down to the date of the "ultimatum," which more or less contributed to the final result; but when we come into the court of history, or into any forum in which international obligation is recognized, the agents we are dealing with are responsible human beings and responsible governments, and what we want to know is where the responsibility for the war lies. In all the popular accounts of wars, it is made to appear that the war was brought on by a "strong current of national feeling" about something or other—cruelties, outrages, misgovernment, bad faith. Such feelings might bring on war between two savage tribes, unprovided with governments, and no doubt often did in times past; but one of the chief uses of governments is to provide machinery for preventing such conflicts from taking place. Consequently, if a President, or a committee, having the decision of peace or war in their hands, and knowing that the other party to the controversy is willing to make all reasonable concessions, allows the "clamor" for war to prevail, they are, in the forum of history and international law and custom and morals, just as guilty of the war as they would be of assassination if they bludgeoned a private enemy when no one was looking.

Politicians who bring on wars are always opposed to this view of the subject; but it is the business of history to hold them to it. On whose hands is the blood of this war? is a question which can usually be answered by giving the names of certain human beings, but for whose decision, or failure to decide, the war need not have taken place. That the war was "inevitable," or "predestined," or "necessary" is rank nonsense for all but fatalists. This principle of responsibility was formerly much more clearly recognized by writers than it is now. In all the discussion about our civil war, about the Franco-Prussian war, it played a great part. Even now in England it plays a great part in the discussion of the causes of the Boer war. But our writers on the Spanish-American war have thus far displayed a great aversion to it.

On the whole, we may say that the author is quite fair, but too uncritical to deal with his subject in a way to carry conviction. His book is, however, superior to previous writings on this subject in the fact that it is not inflated, and the reader is thus enabled to get a pretty clear idea of the war, without being called upon to swell with indignation or dilate with patriotism over every commonplace event in it. As we grow accustomed to look at it with some eye to historical perspective, we see more and more clearly that it was a discreditable war, brought on purposely and unnecessarily by half-a-dozen politicians for their own ends; that it was not glorious, for the enemy were destroyed with little loss or risk to us.

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*Matthew Lyon*, the Hampden of Congress: A Biography. Illustrated. By J. Fairfax McLaughlin, LL.D. New York: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck Crawford Co. 1900. Illustrated.

Matthew Lyon, in the first decade of our century, was notorious for three things. He had spit in the face of a fellow-member of Congress, and had been cudgelled for that insult; he had been fined and imprisoned for a seditious publication; and he had given the casting vote for Jefferson as President. These supreme events and all known incidents in his career were set forth by Pliny H. White before the Vermont Historical Society, and published in 1858. White's work fills 26 pages, the one before us 530. Clearly one book was too short or the other is too long.

The Greek dictum that a big book is a big bore will allow no quarter to the corpulent later comer unless it has fed on such meat as might well have made it grow so great. But its new sources of information are a beggarly account of letters and newspapers. One of the two principal letters, copied from the Monroe manuscripts, is a chronicle of Lyon's merits by himself (not without misstatements), in an application for an office; and it may have helped him to one years afterward. The other was from his youngest child, seventeen at his death, with a few family records and traditions. The best printed scraps were gleaned from the *Vermont Gazette* and the New York *Spectator*, besides several quills plucked from fretful Peter Porcupine's paper. These materials and other unconsidered trifles snapped up here and there would not naturally swell White's pages to a hundred. The bulk of the new book which asks pardon for being born, turns out to be either vain repetitions or irrelevant digressions, uncalled-for expansions and cumbersome padding.

Thus, Dr. Dwight, in his 'Travels,' had mentioned Lyon's improvements at Fair Haven, as "busy mills and other waterworks." These five words are the text for a ten-page sermon about Dwight. Lyon lived for years in Litchfield (some of them as a bondman, having been bought for a pair of stags), and hence we are treated to pages on Litchfield, more than one of them about its Law School not yet born. Lyon said in Congress that Randolph would do well to emancipate his slaves. Hence we are fully told in prose of Randolph's so doing, with a page of poetry thrown in. Lyon was born in

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Ireland, and so English oppressions there are traced to Cromwell and further through the ages. Lyon was a redemptioner, and a monograph on his class is inserted. The result from such a heap of heterogeneous patches is a crazy-quilt which could not be small.

But the three bubbles which are blown up into the biggest balloons—clouds like a man's hand which spread till they fill the firmament—are, first, four months in jail and a thousand-dollar fine for printing that the President's message was "bullying," and that "Congress, who ought to have sent him to a madhouse, were more servile to him than Parliament to King George"; then, the single vote, feeding fat his ancient grudge against Adams, which shut Burr out of the Presidency; and, lastly, the spitting which brought on a beating like that of Sumner by Brooks, and which for the first time turned the national capitol into a bear-garden. These matters are dwelt on *ad nauseam* throughout more than 200 pages. Allusions to them, seemingly viewed as veins of gold enriching the vulgar earth, pervade the volume. In respect to the altercation in Congress, the author "presents its most abhorred ingredient to the eye" as persistently as Bryan forced the shibboleth 16 to 1 upon his recalcitrant votaries. By an unfair comparison with the "Merchant of Venice," the biographer would also fain extenuate Lyon's meanness.

Several dark and grained spots on Lyon will not lose their tinct. As a military officer he was cashiered by a court-martial for deserting his post, and so was nicknamed Knight of the Wooden Sword. He would have been arrested on his way to Congress, but for his privilege as a member. When one of the Council of Safety, he was impeached and condemned for concealing his accounts concerning confiscated property. Our author becomes so zealous an advocate that in his eyes the deed of his client, whatever in itself, seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest. He writes well of Lyon's activities in founding towns on the frontier fringe of both Vermont and Kentucky. His research has left no corner untouched. In the suppressed lines of the letter he obtained from the writer of an abolition booklet in Kentucky, one wonders if Lyon was shown to have become himself no less a slaveholder than Randolph had been.

In Lyon's career as an opportunist, what strikes us most is that Adams's sedition law gave him a chance to pose among the noble army of martyrs, even while gaining his heart's desire in politics and a memorable name among champions of a free press. He was the "Hotspur," not the "Hampden of Congress." This phrase, borrowed from Waddy Thompson, and forming the alternate title of this biography, suggests many a contrast rather than one solitary similarity to the spotless English hero. A sort of greatness thrust on Lyon, chiefly by the tie in electoral votes for President, turned his head. One of his sayings, when falling out with Jefferson, was, "I made him, and, by the bulls that redeemed me, I can unmake him!"

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*Acetylene.* By Vivian B. Lewes. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1900. 8vo, pp. xxviii+978.

If, not so very long ago, when French and German chemists were disputing as to whether acetylene was most economically prepared from the bromide of ethylene or by the imperfect combustion of a Bunsen burner, some *diseuse de bonne aventure* had told them that within forty years the seventh handbook to be devoted exclusively to this subject would contain over a thousand pages and yet be rather too condensed than otherwise, they would have smiled at the absurdity of the prediction. Yet here it is; and it is incomparably the best upon its subject, and one of the most thorough, intelligent, and judicious digests that have ever been made of our knowledge of a single chemical product, in a narrow sense of that term, so as not to include water, iron, and such things. It is divided into three parts—the first, Scientific, occupying 170 pages; the second, Technical, 525 pages; the third, Legal and Miscellaneous; the rest in small print. In order to show that our praise of the work is well deserved, we may mention such of the defects which we have noticed in its scientific part as are not too technical for our columns.

Considering how important Professor Lewes's own work on the luminosity of flames has been, it is singular that he should fail to remark that Edmund Davy, the original discoverer of acetylene, noticed that the fact that its flame is brighter than that of olefiant gas is contrary to Henry's theory of the luminosity of flames. Neither does Professor Lewes call attention to Davy's not noticing any bad smell about the gas, which shows that he made it purer than it was ever made afterwards down to recent years.

Professor Lewes says: "In 1830 Torrey noticed in the gas mains of New York, which at that time were made of copper, the formation of a brown deposit which could be exploded by a blow or by heat, and which was probably the acetylene-copper compound." This does not do full justice to Dr. John Torrey. One of the workmen engaged in replacing the old copper pipes by iron ones, took up one of the old pipes, raised it to his mouth, and blew through it. Instantly, an explosion shattered his jaw, so that he died in a few hours. Some pieces of the pipe having been sent to Dr. Torrey for examination, he came to the conclusion (not stated by Lewes) that the brown explosive powder they contained was a compound of copper with some hydrocarbon, and he would have gone further had not Mr. Chilton claimed a prior right to investigate the problem without being able to advance towards its solution, himself, in any measure, great or small.

Prof. Lewes says that "during 1859 Boettger made some researches," etc. But in fact these researches were commenced in 1852, and were published in 1858 in the *Jahresbericht des physikalischen Vereins zu Frankfort-am-Main*. And he not only "was of opinion" that the precipitate formed by leading lighting gas into an ammoniacal cuprous solution was "a compound of copper with a hydrocarbon," but he proved it, and proved further that the hydrocarbon in question was one not well known to chemists, and that it existed in small proportion in the illuminating gas.

The fact that Adolphe Perrot made acetylene in 1858 is not mentioned; but it was hardly worth mention, since he failed to recognize its true nature.

The first of Berthelot's researches is said by Prof. Lewes to have been published in 1860. In fact, a note by him on the subject appeared in *L'Institut* for 1859. This is worth mention, because three days before Berthelot's first note was presented to the Académie des Sciences on April 30, 1860, Victor Sawitsch had shown that monobromethylene treated with caustic alkali would give this new gas, as it was then understood to be, Davy's discovery having been forgotten. Lewes does not mention this paper of Sawitsch, nor does he mention that Bacologlio in 1860 detected acetylene in illuminating gas. Other facts not noticed are Vohl's method for preparing acetylene from American petroleum, proposed in 1865; Thénard's discovery of the conversion of acetylene into a horny substance by the silent electrical discharge; Coquillon's studies of the combustion of acetylene made in 1878. The question of how far acetylene is poisonous is fully discussed, though Hatton's observation that it does not act upon bacteria is omitted. The physiological action being treated under "Chemical Reactions of Acetylene," contrary to the general usage of chemists, it would have been well to refer to the discussion in the index under Acetylene, Physiological, and Poisonous, and not merely under Toxic. Nothing is said about the refrangibility of acetylene, investigated by Mascart in 1878, and shown by Brühl in 1887 to have an important bearing upon the problem of its chemical constitution. But this all-important problem is not attacked at all by Professor Lewes. For that reason the discussions of Paternò and Peratoner, in 1890, of the iodization of acetylene are passed over in silence.

Some of these faults are certainly to be regretted; but the fact that we can bring no more serious criticisms will be sufficient to show how admirably Professor Lewes has executed his task.

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*The Story of John Adams:* A New England Schoolmaster. By M. E. B. and H. G. B. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1900.

Thousands of young eyes have gazed with admiring awe on the fine portrait of which a photogravure makes the frontispiece of this book. It hangs in the great hall of Phillips Academy at Andover, and is an enduring proof of the existence of qualities in our Puritan ancestors that commanded respect and reverence. No erring boy could have looked into these steel-blue eyes without quailing; and we may judge from what is here told us that there was reason for trepidation on the part of all who deviated from the straight and narrow path. The records available for the construction of this story were meagre, but they have been skilfully used. The particulars of John Adams's life are not in themselves of deep interest, although it is certainly remarkable that, after many years of service as Principal of Phillips Academy, he should begin life again as a pioneer settler in Illinois. After he was seventy, he labored actively for twelve years, establishing during that time no less than three hundred and twenty-two Sunday-schools. The nine years of life that remained to him after retiring from active missionary service were spent in well-earned repose, under peaceful and happy conditions.

While there are many incidents here detailed that bring the life of our forefathers clearly before us, the conditions of society in Andover are most vividly presented. It is difficult to read of the grim severity of those days without a shudder. The physical pri-

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vations, as we should regard them, seem intolerable. There were days in winter when it was impossible to raise the temperature in the Academy above freezing, and on one occasion 18° was the highest attained. With the food and clothing used, comfort, as we understand it, was frequently out of the question. The ten children borne by Mrs. Adams were supplemented by six pupils taken to board, one servant only being employed. This servant, by the way, was paid one dollar a week, but managed to save enough out of it to support two boys for several years in a mission school in Ceylon, and even indulged in the luxury of publishing, at an expense of $20, a tract entitled "The Swearer's Prayer." It is satisfactory to be assured that this tract was highly valued in its day.

Descriptions of the observance of Sunday in New England are so numerous that we need not quote the impressive one here presented. Andover Hill was not a place where laxity was tolerated, and the remaining six days of the week could have hardly sufficed for recuperation from the toils of the Sabbath. Human nature occasionally rebelled, as when one of Mr. Adams's daughters told her Sunday-school teacher that she thought Aaron was a wicked man, thereby incurring peril of expulsion for blasphemy. This youthful reprobate has left a charming description of the weekly prayer-meeting in behalf of the Jews, held at the house of one of the professors in the Theological Seminary under the supervision of his wife. This worthy dame was also deeply interested in rescuing children from the doom entailed by Adam's fall, and frequently invited them to spend the day with her. "We were then," our informant says, "shut up in the parlor, with Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress' and bread and water for refreshment. From time to time our hostess would drop in to offer a prayer and would then retire, leaving us to think of our lost condition." We can commend this book to all who are acquainted with Andover.

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*Economics and Industrial History for Secondary Schools.* By Henry W. Thurston. Chicago; Scott, Foresman & Co.

This interesting volume is the outcome of certain recent tendencies in American secondary-school instruction. There has been a growing demand, especially in the Middle States, that economic teaching, if attempted at all, should be made more descriptive and concrete; that it should stimulate boys and girls to the intelligent observation of surrounding conditions; and that it should dispense with, or at any rate postpone, the formulation of abstract "laws." Mr. Thurston has sought to direct and assist this movement; and he has produced a teachers' manual which, whatever else may be said of it, is certainly marked by originality and suggestiveness. It is divided into three parts, each designed to afford occupation for a third of a course of eighty recitation-periods. The first is devoted to "Industrial Observation and Interpretation." It gives elaborate instructions for the preparation by the pupils of a number of simple diagrams and schedules, for such subjects of interest as the local distribution of occupations, the rate of wages, personal consumption, and the like. The only criticism that need be offered is that the scheme is probably just a little too elaborate and time-occupying to be carried out in its entirety. But it would sharpen many a boy's wits to be made to try his hand on two or three of these tasks, especially if he is given to understand that to do them intelligently and neatly is no very great achievement.

The second part, comprising some 144 pages, gives the "Outlines of the Industrial History of England and the United States," and can be commended with much less hesitation. It is based upon some half-dozen well-known treatises; but it presents their results in a shape which is likely to be more attractive to most young Americans—and this applies to universities as well as to high schools—than that they were originally clothed in. Indeed, this part of Mr. Thurston's work can be recommended to "the general public" as perhaps the most enlightening exposition of the bearing of economic history on current economic questions that can well be named.

In his third part, the "Elements of Economic Theory," we cannot but think Mr. Thurston has tried to run with the hare while hunting with the hounds, and that he has given altogether too much space to the trivialities of "Utility." Yet even here there is much that a teacher who knows how to use a book without being dominated by it, would find of great service. But, after all, the chief question is not whether the book and the lessons which it suggests are useful or no, but whether they are likely to take the place of something even more valuable in secondary-school work. If "Economics" can be taught in secondary schools only by the sacrifice of the old-fashioned "culture-studies," the gain will be dearly purchased.

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*London Souvenirs.* By Charles W. Heckethorn. New York: A. Wessels Company. 1900.

This is a hodge-podge made out of antiquarian, historical, and biographical books. Its nineteen chapters treat of everything connected with the past of London—gambling-hells, coffee-houses, clubs, taverns, tea-gardens, barristers, rogues, doctors, Hampton Court, and even "the Lost Rivers of London"—possibly the most valuable, though not the most readable, division of the book. The author has saved the reader the trouble of verifying the statements made, by dispensing generally with citation of authorities; and, indeed, three-quarters of what he tells us is what a lawyer would call "common learning." For the remaining quarter we should have liked some references to the author's sources of information—the more so that there is something about his style that leads one to hesitate to accept what he says blindfold. He has a high standard in verse—refusing the Canterbury Tales altogether the rank of poetry (p. 153)—while on the other hand his prose canon seems to be liberal, at least to judge by his own practice.

On the whole, it is idle to criticise Mr. Hackethorn's book—to read it through would be impossible; at the same time no one can take it up without finding some bit of information of a curious and out-of-the-way sort, *e. g.*, that relating to the London antetype of the "confidence trick." In his chapter on "Bars and Barristers" he makes the statement that a barrister who has once accepted a retainer may be compelled to go on with the case after he has discovered, not merely that the case is bad, but that his client is a thorough scoundrel. This is Lord Brougham's theory; but a compiler like our author ought at least to know that there are others. Dr. Johnson, if we remember right, threw a great deal of light on this layman's *crux* by observing that it rarely happens that a lawyer, once engrossed in a case, does find it wholly bad.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, C. C. In Nature's Realm. Trenton, N. J.: Albert Brandt. $2.50.
Bacheller, I. Eben Holden: A Tale of the North Country. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Co.
Barlow, Jane. From the Land of the Shamrock. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Baylor, Frances C. A Georgian Bungalow. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Bennett, Lieut. F. M. The Monitor and the Navy under Steam. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Bodley, J. E. C. France. New ed. Macmillan. $2.50.
Bowman, R. C. Freckles and Tan: A Book of Illustrated Verse. Boston: Alfred Bartlett. 75c.
Braddon, M. E. The Infidel: A Romance. Harpers. $1.50.
Bradford, Rev. A. H. Spiritual Lessons from the Brownings. T. Y. Crowell & Co.
Bryce, L. Friends in Exile: A Tale of Diplomacy, Coronets, and Hearts. 3d ed. Harpers. $1.25.
Buchan, J. The Half-Hearted. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Carpenter, Prof. G. R. Elements of Rhetoric and English Composition. Macmillan. 50c.
Catalogo Generale della Libreria Italiana dall' anno 1847 a tutto il 1899. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli; New York: Lemcke & Buechner. Part i. 60 cents.
Caxton, W. The Golden Legend, or Lives of the Saints. [The Temple Classics.] London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 50c.
Child, F. S. The Little Dreamer's Adventure: A Story of Droll Days and Droll Doings. Boston: Lee & Shepard. $1.25.
Condon, W. H. Life of Major-General James Shields, Hero of Three Wars and Senator from Three States. Chicago: Blakely Printing Co.; New York: The Author. $4.
Conway, Sir W. M. The Alps from End to End. London: Archibald Constable & Co.; Philadelphia: Lippincotts.
Cook, Dr. F. A. Through the First Antarctic Night 1898-1899: A Narrative of the Voyage of the "Belgica" among Newly Discovered Lands and over an Unknown Sea about the South Pole. Doubleday & McClure Co. $5.
Counsel upon the Reading of Books. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Cullen, C. L. Tales of the Ex-Tanks: A Book of Hard-Luck Stories. New York: Grosset & Dunlap. $1.25.
Dobson, A. William Hogarth. New ed. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; Philadelphia: Lippincotts.
Dole, C. F. The Problem of Duty: A Study of the Philosophy of Conduct. T. Y. Crowell & Co. 35c.
Douglas, L. Fra Angelico. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. $5.
Douglas, Amanda A. A Little Girl in Old Washington. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Durfee, Prof. W. P. The Elements of Plane Trigonometry. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Ebers, G. In the Desert. Translated from the German by Mary F. Safford. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Farrar, Dean F. W. The Life of Lives: Further Studies in the Life of Christ. Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.50.
Fiske, H. S. The Ballad of Manila Bay, and Other Verses. Chicago: The Author.
Frick, Mrs. M. J. Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings. Macmillan. 25c.
Frost, W. H. Fairies and Folk of Ireland. Scribners. $1.50.
Gibb, E. J. W. A History of Ottoman Poetry. Vol. I. London: Luzac & Co.
Hastings, Rev. J. A Dictionary of the Bible: Dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, Including the Biblical Theology. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribners. Vol. III. Kir-Pleiades.
Hazard, Caroline. Some Ideals in the Education of Women. T. Y. Crowell & Co. 35c.
Hemstreet, W. Electricity and the Resurrection, or, The Soul and Science. Chicago: Universal Truth Pub. Co. $1.
Howells, W. D. The Smoking-Car: A Farce. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 50c.
Howells, W. D. An Indian Giver: A Comedy. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 50c.
How to Make and How to Mend. By an Amateur Mechanic. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan. $1.25.
Hurd, Grace M. The Bennett Twins. Macmillan. $1.50.
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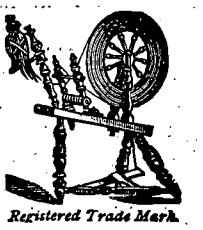

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